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ABSTRACT

This study explores the principal's role as instructional leader in four urban schools showing improvement in test scores. Data gathering procedures included ethnographic observations and interviews of principals; principals' logs of time use; interviews with teachers, school administrators, and students; and faculty surveys. The findings were analyzed to identify "cultural themes" dealing with instructional leadership and to develop composite pictures of the principals' leadership. The bulk of the report consists of case studies incorporating anecdotal and quantitative presentations of such topics as the community, characteristics of the school, composition of students and faculty, a profile of the principal, the principal's exercise of instructional leadership, faculty and student perceptions, the principal's interventions for instructional improvement and their effects, and the school's leadership structure, including the role of other influential staff. General findings indicate that principals can improve learning by establishing explicit policies for achieving clearly expressed goals, effectively using slogans in support of those goals, improving the learning climate, and having someone devote attention to the curriculum. The conclusion is that the principals studied give priority to student discipline and school management and need inservice education to become instructional leaders. Principals can provide general instructional leadership while support staff with special expertise offer more specific leadership. (Survey instruments including Sources of Instructional Leadership (SOIL) are appended.) (MJL)

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Instructional Leadership: Four Ethnographic Studies on Junior High School Principals

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Finally we express our appreciation to the principals and faculties who cooperated so fully with our study. They welcomed us into their schools and allowed us to experience the complexities of their daily activities. Unfortunately their names are not identified. All names in this report are fictitious; in addition the gender of various participants is often changed. Every effort has been made to protect the anonymity of our subjects.

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Abstract

This exploratory study assumed that instructional leadership can positively affect school improvement in low SES junior high schools. Two basic questions were asked throughout the study: 1) In what ways does the principal provide instructional leadership? 2) What other sources of leadership develop when the principal does not play an active or directive role?

Four junior high schools located in southeastern Pennsylvania were selected for study. Criteria for selection were two fold: expert testimony that these were improving schools; and improvement on test scores. Data were gathered through ethnographic observation and interviews of the principals over a 17 week period. Additional interviews were conducted with vice-principals, counselors, teachers, students and parents. Near the end of this study two surveys were administered to provide quantitative assessments of staff perceptions.

Tentative findings of the study suggest the following:

- principals do set academic goals, but seldom monitor them carefully.
- principals use slogans as rallying cries around goals, but these slogans seldom transform the direction of the school or the level of staff commitment.
- principals do little supervision of staff other than for evaluation purposes.
- sustained efforts in instructional leadership were often provided by a respected vice-principal or department chair.
- principals are centrally concerned with discipline.

In general the study suggests that for the most part principals do not provide instructional leadership in junior high schools. Instructional leadership seems less centralized in the principal and more diffused over a variety of school roles.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

During recent years the perennial complaints about our "failing schools" have been somewhat counterbalanced by studies of and interest in "effective schools".

Unlike the research of Coleman (1966), Jensen (1967), and Jencks (1972) which found that family background established too great a deficit to be overcome by instruction, more recent studies by Weber (1971), Brookover and Lezotte (1976), Wellisch (1978), Edmonds (1979), Venesky and Winfield (1979), and Clark (1980) indicate that students from low SES can and do improve significantly in academic skills in school. David Clark (1980) in a meta study of some 1200 secondary sources concludes that twelve interrelated generalizations applied appropriately "can insure success in the urban setting". Clark's generalizations suggested that school improvement clusters around three factors--leadership, teaching personnel, and curriculum and instruction.

Most of the studies mentioned recognized the principal's role as an essential force in improving school performance. Clark notes that effective principals _do_ more: they frame goals or set standards, create a productive working environment, and obtain needed support. Weber reported that poor children achieve in reading in some schools where these characteristics are present--strong leadership from the principal, the expectation from the teachers that all children can read, an orderly and pleasant atmosphere and an emphasis on the teaching of reading as a primary goal of the school. Brookover and Lezotte (1977) conducted an ethnographic study of six "improving" and two "declining" elementary schools in an attempt to identify significant differences. Many of Weber's earlier findings were confirmed. Strong leadership from the principal was emphasized: the principal was more likely to be an instructional leader, more assertive in his (or her) instructional leadership role, more of a disciplinarian and perhaps most of all, assumed responsibility for the evaluation of the achievement of basic objectives. Edmonds' research also reenforces the primacy of the principal's role in determining the positive direction for a school's improvement. He states categorically that "one of the most tangible and indispensable characteristics of effective schools is strong administrative leadership, without which the disparate elements of good schooling can be neither brought together nor kept together" (p. 32). Edmonds further asserts that there must be a school-wide mission with an emphasis on basic skills instruction which entails agreement among faculty that instruction in basic skills takes precedence over all other activities. Implicit in Edmonds' assertion is the belief that the principal develops organizational structures and a sense of commitment from the faculty so that consensus on academic goals is possible.

In an in-depth study conducted over two years of 22 elementary schools with low SES and low achieving students, Wellisch and her colleagues (1978) found that school success was related to "administrative leadership in instruction, coordination of instructional programs throughout the school, and policy regarding academic standards" (p. 211). The kinds of administrative behaviors identified by Weber, Brookover and Lezotte, and Edmonds depicted a strong leader reminiscent of the traditional bureaucrat with the line of authority arranged hierarchically from the principal down to teachers. Wellisch's research indicated a contrasting picture of effective leadership. She found that ". . . although instructional programs appeared to benefit from direction and leadership, one should not infer that a policy concerning instruction was decided without participation of teachers; it was rarely reported that administrators made decisions with no input from teachers. This would indicate that leadership consists of active administrative involvement in the educational process, rather than exclusion of teachers from decision making" (p. 211).

While this research on effective schools and the leadership role of the principal has been of inestimable value to the profession, it perhaps can be faulted for three important weaknesses.

First, it seems to ignore or minimize the organizational complexity of schools. While the Wellisch research establishes that principals of successful schools actively seek the advice and collaboration of teachers in decision making, her evidence further suggests that there is a tremendous amount of communication, coordiation and building of consensus between the principal and the faculty. These findings become problematic when viewed in relation to studies conducted by Weick (1976), Deal and Celotti (1977), and Meyer (1977). Those researchers understand schools to be organized in a "loose coupling" arrangement. Deal and Celotti define loose coupling as ". . . the absence of tightly regulated linkages within or between organizational levels" (pp. 13-14). They also find that there is ". . . a lack of agreement within or between levels, members of various units have differing, even contrary, perceptions of the school setting and its functioning". Little consensus exists among teachers and ". . . agreement was particularly low around areas of instruction". The researchers believe that loose coupling presents a rational, adaptive, organizational response designed to stave off the various pressure groups which try to influence and control schools. They reason that since there is almost no agreement about school goals or the connection between instructional strategies and learning, any attempt at coordination or evaluation would only produce more conflicts and possibly reduce public support. Therefore their argument concludes, strong leadership is dysfunctional in loosely coupled organizations. This anomaly clearly suggests the need for a study which would be more sensitive to the impact of organizational arrangements upon leadership.

The second weakness of the previous research is that it seems to have focused solely on the elementary school--and on the special learning tasks associated with that level of schooling. And while the findings from the research on effective elementary schools can clearly provide some useful directions for other levels of schooling, there are some serious limitations. We would argue that these limitations are most apparent in considering what "effectiveness" might mean when applied to schools for younger adolescents. The middle or junior high school student has very special needs that are not subsumed under the rubric of "the basics", and requires special kinds of schools that give attention to matters other than reading and computational skills. We do not mean to depreciate the importance of such skills, especially for urban youth; but we believe that other outcomes are just as important: learning to think and to reason, developing an acceptance of one's physical self, practicing the skills of young adulthood, learning how to make contact with one's peers, negotiating the conflict between the desire for independence and the need for adult direction. We saw a need, therefore, for a study which would be solely concerned with the junior high school.

The final weakness of the previous research is that it seemed to focus unduly on the role of the principal. Now we readily admit that the principal plays a key role in all school improvement; but once having uttered that platitude, we see a need to move beyond it. We found ourselves increasingly impatient with those articles which simplistically offered this argument:

1. The principal is the only one who can provide instructional leadership.
2. We can reduce instructional leadership to a set of simple perceptions.
3. All principals have to adopt these new behaviors--or look for another job.

We began the study, therefore, with a suspicion that Steven Kerr's theory (Kerr and Jermier, 1978) is sound: that persons other than the principal influence the instructional process. We saw a need, therefore, for a study which would look more broadly at the sources of instructional leadership.

In a sense, then, we began this study with encouragement from those studies which suggested that some urban schools can be effective--and with a realization that we might be able to make a contribution by looking at issues that had not been closely examined in those previous studies.

The problem of the study, therefore, might best be framed somewhat broadly in this fashion:

> How does instructional leadership happen in urban junior high schools that seem more successful than most?

And specifically we found ourselves sensitive to these issues:

1. How do principals adopt different styles of leadership to respond to special situations and organizational constraints?
2. What other sources of leadership develop when the principal does not play an active and directive role?
3. What special features of the junior high school affect the role of the principal as an instructional leader?

METHODOLOGY

Selection of Participants

This study was conducted in a large urban school district located on the east coast of the United States. The selection process was conducted over a two month period in late spring of 1981. Two sources of information were used in selecting the sample schools: expert opinion and school data on student achievement. Initially we conferred with the system's district superintendents and staff from the Office of Research and Evaluation to identify several effective inner city junior high schools serving minority students whose families live on low incomes. We also asked if these same schools were managed by principals who believed that instructional leadership was a significant part of their responsibility. Finally, we asked these experts to identify teachers, specialists, or administrators, other than the principal, who were making major contributions to the improvement of a school's instructional program. These opinions were cross checked and the pool of candidates expanded when we discussed our early choices with knowledgeable teachers, administrators, district specialists and key members of several community organizations.

We had hoped to find four inner city junior high schools in which 50% or more of the students were achieving at or above the 50th percentile in reading. We did not find a single school which met that criterion. Therefore we analyzed reading achievement scores over a five year period to determine significant trends toward improvement. Schools which showed a steady reduction in numbers of students scoring below the 16th percentile in reading as well as increases in the 16th to 49th and 50th and above percentiles on the California Achievements Tests (1970 edition) were considered improving schools, worthy of study. The combination of expert opinion regarding a school, its principal, and its staff and indications of improvement on standardized tests formed the criteria for school selection. A list of eight schools was developed. Each principal was interviewed by the researchers to assess interest in participation and their perceptions about instructional leadership. From this group four principals and their schools were selected as the sample to be studied.

Before discussing data gathering procedures we note that the initiation of this project was delayed because of a 50 day teachers' strike which did not conclude until the end of October 1981. The first meetings the researchers held on the school sites commenced during the second week in November. Data collection concluded by June 1982.

Data Gathering Procedures

The study made use of nine data gathering processes, as follows:

1. Ethnographic observations of the principals. Principals were observed directly over a period of seventeen weeks. The observations were essentially ethnographic in nature; that is, we observed the principals without preconceived ideas as to what we would find, and attempted to use the observations as a way of understanding the principals' world as they see it. Initially we "shadowed" the principal for five consecutive days recording each aspect of a day's work. Note-taking was organized to display the duration of the event, participants involved, and purpose or content of the contact. Our role was that of passive participant or spectator, not active participant.

The notes of these observations were recorded in a field-work journal.

2. Ethnographic interviews with principals. The interviews were both informal and formal. The informal interviews occurred during the course of the observations and were designed to illuminate the observational data. The formal interviews were arranged throughout the data gathering process at a time convenient for the principal and were primarily descriptive in nature, focusing on the issue of instructional leadership. A draft of sample questions used in the principal interview is located in the appendix of this document. Other questions were used based on information derived from our observations and the line of response emergent from the interview. The interviews were tape-recorded whenever possible.

3. Interviews with teachers. Eight teachers were selected at random in two of the schools. The assistance provided by a doctoral student allowed ten additional teachers to be interviewed in the remaining two schools. Teachers were interviewed by the investigators in order to ascertain their views about these matters:

    a. What do you think is meant by "instructional leadership" as it applies to the role of the junior high school principal?

    b. Can you tell me some stories or incidents which show how your principal acts as an instructional leader?

    c. Are there occasions when persons other than the principal assume the role of instructional leader? Can you describe how that happens?

4. Interviews with other administrators. Principals, vice-principals, department chairs, counselors, and reading and math specialists were interviewed to expand our understanding of how the school is organized. Questions for these interviews probed perceptions in these areas--knowledge of goals and standards, expectations of students, feelings of collegiality among staff, sense of support from the principal, freedom to take initiative, etc.

5. Interviews with students. Seven students selected at random from various grades were interviewed to learn their perceptions of how the instructional program helps them achieve in basic skills. Specific questions explored student perspectives on how administrators and teachers provide an instructionally effective program.

6. Observations of school. The school was observed informally as the observation and interviews described above were conducted. In addition, there were several carefully structured observations of the school--its classroom, corridors, play areas, faculty workrooms, and offices. The purpose of these observations was to collect evidence about the extent to which the general educational environment seems conducive to learning and the extent to which the principal impacted directly on that environment.

7. Principals' log. We worked with each principal to develop a log which enabled that principal to collect his or her own data about use of time.

8. Records. The researcher asked that a mailbox be labelled with his name and that all routine mail teachers receive be automatically placed in the researcher's box. Additional records also were requested for analysis including: results from standardized tests; progress reports; end of the year; reports; goal statements; teacher evaluations; and attendance records of students, teachers, and administrators.

9. Surveys. Two surveys were administered to each faculty during a faculty meeting. The first survey, Additional Information Survey, probed for faculty perception of administrators' visibility, overall school progress, the principal's priorities, etc. The second survey, Sources of Instructional Leadership, assessed perceptions of which roles were providing or contributing to the accomplishment of instructional leadership functions.

Data Analysis Procedure

The essential purpose of the data analysis is to identify what Opler (1945) calls "cultural themes". He defines cultural themes in this manner: "A postulate or position, declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society." The society here is the urban junior high school, and the cultural themes which will be singled out for study are those dealing with instructional leadership.

These particular cultural themes were identified first by separate analyses of the eight data sources described below.

1. Ethnographic observations. The notes from the field journal were analyzed closely and coded initially in two ways: these behaviors seem directly related to the role of instructional leadership; these behaviors do not seem related directly to the role of instructional leadership. These behaviors which seem related were then further studied in order to derive a taxonomic analysis of instructional leadership behaviors.

2. Ethnographic interviews with the principals. The tapes of the interviews were reviewed and closely analyzed. The first analysis identified those parts of the interview that relate to the issue of instructional leadership. Those sections that relate to instructional leadership then were further coded as follows:

    a. Metaphors the principal uses to talk about school, learning and teaching.

    b. Slogans repeated by the principal that seem an important part of the belief system.

    c. The principal's perceptions as to how he or she achieves instructional consensus.

    d. Statements about the principal's instructional priorities.

    e. Statements that reveal the principal's perceptions of the pupils.

3. Interviews with the teachers. The interview with the teachers was reviewed and analyzed in order to ascertain common and unique responses to the two questions posed in the interview: what do the teachers conceive is meant by "instructional leadership of a principal"? In what specific ways does the principal act as an instructional leader?

4. Interviews with other administrators. Interviews with other administrators were reviewed and analyzed to assess how the principal delegates aspects of the school program. Deal and Celotti note that the delegation of instructional leadership responsibilities to second line administrators may be an effective strategy for tightening up a loosely coupled system and thereby insure more effective coordination.

5. Interviews with students. Analysis of student interviews focused on their perceptions and understanding of the following issues: the purpose of school; teacher and administrator expectations in regard to student performance in basic skills; the rigidity or flexibility of academic standards; sense or orderliness and safety in school; accessibility of principal and teachers; responsiveness of principal and teacher to student needs or concerns.

6. Observations of school. The notes in the field journal relating to the observations of the school were coded to identify, first, those aspects of the school environment that seemed supportive of or conducive to instruction, and second, those supportive aspects which seemed to be directly a result of the principal's interventions.

7. Principal's log. The principal's logs were analyzed first to determine what percentage of the principal's time was devoted to instructional concerns. That instructional time was then further analyzed to identify important sub-categories as they related to instructional improvement.

8. Records. Records were organized into content categories. A frequency count was made for each category. Analysis focused on the emergence of recurrent themes with specific attention to those documents that communicate about the school's instructional progress.

9. Surveys. In addition to the use of qualitative methods of investigation the researchers used two surveys to assess each faculty's perception of the nature of instructional leadership in their school. Both surveys were administered near the end of the study. One of the surveys called the Additional Information Survey (see Appendix p.) asked five questions

> which measured the frequency of administrative observations and evaluations of teacher performance, the visibility of the administrators in the halls and cafeteria, the progress the school is making, and a rank order of the principal's priorities.
>
> The second survey called Sources of Instructional Leadership (SOIL) was developed to display the instructional leadership patterns by role and function in schools. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent that various persons perform 31 tasks related to instructional leadership. A description of SOIL's development, an explanation of how data is analyzed, and a sample of the survey instrument itself appear in the appendix on page .

These separate analyses were then used to develop a composite picture of the junior high school principal as an instructional leader. Case studies for the four schools will be presented in the following sequence: Brown, Hoover, Lynnwood and Polisher.

BROWN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The Setting for the Study

The Brown Junior High School is in one of the oldest sections of the city. It is a community where factories, trucking terminals, and retail stores crowd the modest row houses. Once a center for the textile industry, parts of it are now perceived by many as a dying community; although many of the houses have appreciated in value many of the factories are empty, and the few remaining stores survive on marginal profits. It is near enough to the river and to rail facilities that it will always have some industrial activity, but it does not seem to have much to offer in a post-industrial age.

It probably will survive, however, as a collection of small residential neighborhoods. In fact, its strength probably derives from the fact that it has traditionally been an enclave of several European ethnic groups. There is still a strong Polish-American community, and Irish surnames are much in evidence. Some of its streets fit the stereotype of the old urban ethnic communities: small houses, scrubbed steps, clean streets, the Catholic church, the neighborhood bar--a pleasant setting for old families with old values. But other streets suggest a more obvious decline: abandoned houses boarded up, vacant stores, graffiti-covered walls, and piles of trash and debris.

Always a place where Blacks were unwelcome, it has in recent years seen a major influx of Puerto Rican families who give the neighborhood an Hispanic overlay. Large portions of the community are now occupied almost totally by Puerto Ricans, and the nearby restaurants and stores announce their wares in Spanish.

But all the residents have one thing in common: their lack of affluence. The most prosperous families have both parents working in blue-collar jobs, worried about how long the job will last. The least prosperous have one parent on welfare and the other absent--and the single parent worrying about how long the food stamps will last.

The Brown Junior High School obviously reflects in its history all the changes of its community. When built in 1924, it must have been considered a model school for an intact working-class community. It is an imposing three-story brick structure, surrounded by a large paved playground. The main entrance leads to an attractive foyer, from which two large stairways rise to the marble corridor on the second floor, where the main office is located. But now there are obvious signs of decay. Broken windows are covered with plywood. Doorknobs are frequently missing from classroom doors. Many locker doors were broken at the time of the study; the principal reports that many have since been replaced or repaired. The roof leaks in several places. One of the faculty lounges seems to be a shambles. Student lavatories are so dirty that parents complain and students avoid using them. Of the seven students interviewed by one of the researchers, six complained--without prompting--about the appearance of the building: "the bathrooms are disgusting," "the cafeteria is dirty," "our lockers don't work," "our desks are in bad shape," "it's a messy school." The principal later reported that two hundred new chairs have been ordered.

The deteriorating physical condition of the plant has prompted some community complaints. The principal, Dr. William Lightfoot reported that the fire marshal had stopped by and complained about hazardous storage conditions. A public health inspector had come by to inspect the pupil lavatories, in response to an anonymous phone call. Lightfoot's attitude towards such complaints seems to be, "Let them complain loud enough and maybe I'll get some help." With some apparent justification, Lightfoot blames the condition and appearance of the building on "downtown". Maintenance budgets have been cut; a small handful of maintenance personnel serve many schools. Union rules restrict the principal's ability to make even simple changes: if a teacher's desk is to be moved, a work-order must be submitted, and only furniture movers can do the job--since the custodian's union prohibits custodians from moving furniture. And the school principal has no direct authority over the custodian in his building; the custodian reports to a district and central office division that supervises all custodial help.

But regardless of who is to blame, it seems evident that the appearance and condition of the building have a negative effect upon everyone involved. As noted before, students are vocal in their criticism of the school's appearance. The custodian seems to respond to the poor conditions with a cynical light-heartedness. On one occasion, he informed the principal that he had replaced a light bulb--and then added, "But don't tell anybody about it--they would want more changed--and they're better off not seeing the dirt." A parent active in the home and school association complained to the researcher that the toilets are so dirty that pupils avoid using them. Lightfoot seems frustrated--but resigned: his comments and actions seem to suggest that he feels things will not get better. One teacher said to the researcher, "Appearances count--and the appearance of this place is rapidly going down hill."

Its pupil population has undergone an interesting shift as well. Once entirely white, the pupil population is now about one-third Hispanic, and one-fifth Black. It is interesting to note from Table 1 that the percentage of pupils who are neither Black nor Hispanic has remained relatively constant over the past nine years, while the percentage of Hispanic students has gone up from 1[illegible].6% in 1972-73 to 33.3% in 1980-81. Observe also that the percentage of pupils from "low-income" families has increased. As Table 1 shows, in 1973-74, just about half of the pupils were from low-income families; in 1980-81, about two-thirds were from such families.

During those years of great change in the community and the school, the overall achievement of the pupils, as measured by standardized achievement tests, has shown moderate improvement, in terms of the percentage of pupils scoring in the lowest ranges. As Table 1 shows, in 1973-74 49% of the pupils scored below the 16th percentile according to national norms, and 38% scored in the 16-49 percentile. In 1980-81, 42% scored below the 16 percentile, while 44% scored in the 16-49 range. While the percentage of pupils in the upper ranges remained relatively constant, there was a 6% difference in the two bottom ranges. The principal also reports a "10% increase" in achievement for 1981-82.

The data on the teaching staff (see Table 2) indicate that the most important changes are in the experience level of the instructional staff and in its racial composition. In 1972-73, about one-fourth of the staff had less than two years' experience; in 1980-81, only 6% had less than two years' experience. In 1973-74, 16% of the full-time staff were Black in 1980-81, 41.4% were Black.

One other important trend noticeable in the faculty data involves teacher absence. In 1972-73, the absence rate of the total staff was 5.23; by 1979-80, the rate had almost doubled, to a high of 11.19, after consistent increases in every intervening year. Note, however, that the teacher absence rate for 1980-81 had decreased from its 1979-80 high, returning to a rate comparable to that of school year 1978-79.

It might also be interesting to note the changes in the faculty-student ratio over the years covered by Table 2. In 1972-73, the ratio of instructional staff to average enrollment was 1/23.5; by 1980-81, it had been reduced to 1/17.9. A clearer picture of the instructional load is perhaps yielded by comparing the number of instructional staff with the number of pupils present, rather than the number enrolled. Consider the year 1980-81, for example. While there were 1471 enrolled, only 1003 students (68.2% of that figure) attended school on a typical day. Thus, in that year the ratio of teachers to pupils in attendance was only 1/12.2.

Perhaps this thumb-nail description might best characterize the setting of the Brown Junior High School:

Table 1

Pupil Data, 1972-1981, Brown Junior High School

Category	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
Average number enrolled	1737	1682	1644	1542	1527	1561	1519	1436	1471
Percentage average daily attendance	74.4	73.2	75.3	74.8	71.5	70.6	71.3	71.2	68.2
Racial composition									
% Black	29.9	23.4	21.9	20.9	20.8	21.1	20.5	18.5	18.8
% Hispanic	19.6	24.4	26.0	25.5	27.3	28.9	30.6	34.2	33.3
% Other	50.5	52.2	52.1	53.6	51.9	50.0	48.9	47.3	47.9
Percentage of pupils from low income families	N/A	49.9	52.4	55.7	55.3	55.7	57.5	59.8	62.1
Percentage of pupils scoring									
85% ile +	No Test Given	2.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0
50-84% ile		11.0	11.0	13.0	10.0	12.0	11.0	11.0	12.0
16-49% ile		38.0	40.0	43.0	44.0	46.0	46.0	45.0	44.0
Below 16		49.0	47.0	42.0	46.0	40.0	42.0	43.0	42.0

Table 2

Faculty Data, 1972-1981, Brown Junior High School

Category	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
Total full-time staff	102	103	103	135	125	135	119	126	129
Number of instructional staff	74	75	73	85	81	98	78	82	82
Instructional staff/ pupil ratio	1/23.5	1/22.4	1/22.5	1/18.1	1/18.9	1/15.9	1/19.5	1/17.5	1/17.9
Instructional staff with less than 2 years experience	24.3%	17.0%	33.0%	31.0%	26.0%	6.1%	3.8%	6.1%	6.0%
Racial composition									
% Black	N/A	16.2	12.5	11.0	16.0	12.2	30.8	40.2	41.4
% White	N/A	83.8	85.3	87.0	82.0	85.8	66.7	57.4	57.4
% Other	N/A	0.0	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.4	1.2
Rate of absence, total staff	5.23	6.87	6.89	7.20	7.68	8.77	9.97	11.19	9.72

> An old school, that was once a model of school construction, is now in need of major repairs. It is in a neighborhood that was once all white and is now one-third Hispanic. Its pupils come from poor families--many more than there were nine years ago. Over a nine-year period, the faculty have become more experienced--and a greater number of them are Black. Over the years administration and faculty have been able to make a moderate improvement in pupil achievement. On a typical day about a third of the pupils and about 10% of the faculty are absent.

It should be noted here that the principal believes this report does not present an accurate picture of the physical plant. In reviewing the report, he indicated that he discusses building maintenance every day with the custodian, reviews the topic at each monthly meeting with the union representatives, and has made consistent efforts to improve maintenance. He reports that the building was completely cleaned over the summer of 1982, and teachers have been encouraged to take pride in their housekeeping.

The General Picture of Leadership at Brown Junior High School

As explained in the "methodology" section, the general leadership climate was assessed through the instrument termed "Sources of Instructional Leadership (SOIL)". The instrument assesses the leadership contributions to instructional responsibilities of five roles within the school: principal, vice-principal, department head, school-based reading or math specialist, and teacher. For each role, it was possible to identify five or six factors through a factor analysis of individual items on the questionnaire. It should be noted that, in the tables that follow, a mean score is given for each factor within each role. Mean scores between 1.34-2 indicate that the respondents believed that for this factor, these holding that role are "providing leadership"; mean scores between 0.67-1.33 indicate that respondents believe that those designated are "contributing" to that aspect of instructional leadership; scores less than 0.67 indicate that the respondents believe that those indicated are neither providing nor contributing to that aspect of instructional leadership.

This section will review the results of the questionnaire survey of the Brown faculty and administration, forty-nine of whom submitted usable returns. Perhaps a comment needs to be made here about the rate of return. At the time the survey was made, there were eighty-two staff members. Since teacher absenteeism at the school averaged about 10%, it can be assumed that probably 8-9 teachers were absent. And it was evident when the survey was administered that several teachers refused to complete the survey. One teacher, upon receiving the questionnaire, said, "According to the contract, we don't have to complete this." He pushed aside the questionnaire and sat there with arms folded. His refusal seemed to influence several of those sitting around him.

Thus, about two-thirds of those present completed the questionnaire, and it cannot be determined how those who did not respond feel about the issues raised in the questionnaire.

As Table 3 indicates, the respondents at Brown believe that the principal contributes to instructional leadership through four of the five factors identified: observes and evaluates teachers, establishes an academic climate; establishes goals and responsibilities, and allocates resources. They believe that he does not provide nor contribute

Table 3

Leadership Scores on SOIL for Brown Principal

Factor	Mean Score[a]
1. Coordinates and supports instruction	.48
2. Observes and evaluates teachers	1.07
3. Establishes an academic climate	.89
4. Establishes goals and responsibilities	.96
5. Allocates resources	1.14

[a] 2, provides leadership; 1, contributes to leadership; 0, neither provides nor contributes to leadership.

to the coordination and support of instruction.

(It might be noted here that this factor "coordination and support of instruction" is a composite of fourteen items on the questionnaire which in the factorial analysis clustered together. It subsumes such items as "helps teachers develop instructional materials," "coordinates instruction between different grade level teachers," and "works with teachers to improve instructional program.")

The respondents at Brown perceive the vice-principals as playing little or no role in instructional leadership. On only one of the factors, "maintains an academic climate," do they perceive him or her as making a contribution. On the other five factors, as Table 4 indicates, the mean scores indicate that they perceive him or her as neither providing nor contributing to instructional leadership.

The respondents believe that the department heads at Brown contribute to two aspects of instructional leadership: "improve the use of instructional materials," and "clarify the direction of instruction." As Table 5 suggests, the scores on the other three factors indicate that respondents believe that the department heads neither provide nor contribute to leadership by projecting an academic emphasis, securing resources, or developing collegial relationships. The scores for the school-based reading or math specialist, as can be seen in Table 6, indicate that the respondents do not believe that these individuals either provide or contribute to leadership in any of the six factors identified.

It might be noted here that the principal challenged the teachers' perceptions when he reviewed this report. He believes that the reading specialist does an especially effective job in providing leadership throughout the school.

Brown respondents perceive the classroom teachers as contributing to instructional leadership by developing a learning climate and by relating to the direction of instruction. In the other four factors identified, as can be seen in Table 7, they perceive the teachers as neither providing nor contributing to leadership.

Perhaps one of the most useful ways of analyzing the returns on the SOIL instrument is to examine the summary data for each role. Means were computed for each of the five roles, using all the items on the questionnaire. As Table 8 indicates, the respondents believe that the principal is contributing to, but not providing, instructional leadership. The data also suggest that the respondents believe that those holding the other four roles identified neither provide nor contribute to instructional leadership.

Another way of examining the general picture yielded by the questionnaire returns is to recapitulate the results of the factor analyses. If we review all the data provided in the foregoing tables, we can make these general observations about the instructional leadership at Brown school, as perceived by respondents:

1. No one provides instructional leadership in any factor designated.
2. The principal contributes to instructional leadership by observing and evaluating teachers establishing an academic climate, establishing goals and responsibilities, and allocating resources.

Table 4

Leadership Scores on SOIL for Brown Vice-Principals

Factor	Mean Score[a]
1. Directs and supports instruction	.47
2. Maintains academic climate	1.07
3. Improves instruction	.35
4. Organizes resources	.44
5. Observes and evaluates teachers	.58
6. Communicates academic emphasis	.57

[a] 2, provides leadership; 1, contributes to leadership; 0, neither provides nor contributes to leadership.

Table 5

Leadership Scores on SOIL for Brown Department Heads

Factor	Mean Score[a]
1. Improves use of instructional materials	.78
2. Projects an academic emphasis	.46
3. Secures resources	.47
4. Develops collegial relationships	.47
5. Clarifies direction of instruction	.78

[a] 2, provides leadership; 1, contributes to leadership; 0, neither provides nor contributes to leadership.

Table 6

Leadership Scores on Soil for
Brown Reading, Math Specialists

Factor	Mean Score[a]
1. Improves instructional materials	.35
2. Improves instruction	.21
3. Supports academic emphasis	.40
4. Develops direction of instruction	.40
5. Structures program	.27
6. Supports coordination of instruction	.35

[a] 2, provides leadership; 1, contributes to leadership; 0, neither provides nor contributes to leadership.

Table 7

Leadership Scores on SOIL for Brown Teachers

Factor	Mean Score[a]
1. Develops learning climate	.89
2. Supports colleagues	.23
3. Organizes program	.43
4. Relates to direction of instruction	.67
5. Coordinates with colleagues	.35
6. Develops instructional materials	.41

[a] 2, provides leadership; 1, contributes to leadership; 0, neither provides nor contributes to leadership.

Table 8

Summary Scores for Brown Leadership Roles

Role	Mean Score[a]
1. Principal	.91
2. Vice-principal	.58
3. Department head	.59
4. School-based reading or math specialist	.33
5. Teacher	.50

[a] 2, provides leadership; 1, contributes to leadership; 0, neither provides nor contributes to leadership.

3. The vice-principal contributes to instructional leadership by maintaining an academic climate.

4. The department heads contribute by improving the use of instructional materials and clarifying the direction of instruction.

5. The teachers contribute by developing a learning climate.

Instructional leadership seems thus diffused and differentiated, with several parties contributing to separate aspects, but no one providing leadership.

The Principal of Brown: Dr. William Lightfoot

The center of our interest at the Brown Junior High School is Dr. William Lightfoot, the principal. At the time of this study, he had just turned fifty. He comes across in interviews and observations as a highly intelligent and articulate man, one who understands the Philadelphia School System and where its sources of power are. He has been at Brown since 1970, when he arrived from having served as a vice-principal and teacher in other Philadelphia junior high schools.

Principal Lightfoot's office is a busy center of activity, which seems to serve many purposes. First, it is a corridor of sorts. Located between the vice-principal's office and the outer office, it is frequently used by administrators, teachers, and students who are simply trying to get from one place to the other. There is a small lavatory off in one corner, and that lavatory is often used by students, after they have stopped in and asked permission. Since the principal's office houses the special education student files, anyone who needs to use those files comes to the office, opens the files, and examines student records.

Off to the right hand side of the office is a small conference table, which is often used by administrators and teachers who wish to hold impromptu meetings. And back to the left is Principal Lightfoot's desk, framed by four or five carefully tended house-plants.

And at the center of this activity sits Principal Lightfoot. In actual practice, his door is almost always open. On only one occasion was the researcher asked to remain outside while a potentially "hot" conference enused. But for the most part the office is a place where people seem to wander in and out at will--to see the principal, to go from one office to the other, to use the lavatory, to check the files, to hold a conference. Lightfoot seems to want it that way. He indicated to the researcher that other observers had commented on the lack of privacy provided by the office, but he decided to leave things as they are. He seems to have developed ways of tuning in and tuning out, depending upon what is happening in the office. Thus, he will be sitting at his desk while the special education supervisor and the nurse talk at the conference table about a special education placement. He signs a few forms, interjects a comment into the special education dialog, looks up to greet a teacher who has a special request, signs a discipline form for a student, makes another comment about the special education placement, and answers a telephone call.

One suspects that Lightfoot enjoys this sense that his office and he are at the center of all activity and decision-making and that the busy-ness of this office, which others might find distracting, is for him only stimulating.

How does Principal Lightfoot see himself and his school? Piecing together his remarks made on several different occasions--and, for the most part, using his own words--we see this picture emerging:

> I'm concerned about myself as a leader. I've participated in several studies of leadership. My work with Furness (a leadership consultant) was very helpful. I got feedback from the staff and used it to change my behavior. I was sending out inconsistent signals to the staff, according to Furness. For example, I have a sign in my office asking people not to smoke but I let my vice-principal smoke here. The teachers just didn't understand how important smoking is to the VP--and they didn't realize that my not objecting to his smoking was just a realization on my part of how much he needed to smoke--and an appreciation of all he was doing for me.
>
> I was also told that I didn't delegate enough. People say that when I delegate I hold the reins too tight. That's not really the case, I don't think. After all, I'm the person responsible for this school. I just can't let loose completely. I'm really committed to participatory leadership, but Furness says I don't use the department heads enough. I tried to re-institute meetings with them, but they turned in to gripe sessions, so I dropped them for a while. When I wanted the teacher corps project, I did an end run around them. I'm now meeting with the department heads. I'm committed to team decision making.
>
> I've also gotten some good feedback from a recent leadership workshop. My scores on the FIRO-B test are especially helpful. They showed that I'm not assertive enough; my other scores were close to the norms for other principals.
>
> I try to be flexible in my decision-making style. When I need to make quick decisions, I can make them. When I need to be more reflective, then I can. When I have to make a decision, I look at the options, consult with people who I think have some ideas, and then make a decision.
>
> I think that style has produced some good results. There is more of a meeting of the minds of our staff, about the direction we're headed in. We've had a lot of good staff development work recently. The staff have come to realize that I am more structured than they thought I was. In one of the recent evaluations they did of me, the staff said, "The administration seems more in control."

When I think about our accomplishments, I think I'm proudest of three. Back in 1972, we began the criterion reading project, a way of being sure that reading instruction is closely correlated with reading testing. It made a very strong impact, and now after ten years, five teachers are still using the project. Then in 1974-75 we got involved in the Teacher Corps project. We had a limited time to get the proposal together; I had to push hard. Only three schools submitted proposals, and ours was the best. The project involved inter-disciplinary teaching. Thirteen teachers were involved, with on-site personnel from Temple University. Teachers wrote units involving many of the disciplines. Unfortunately, we had a problem getting the units reproduced. But they're still in the library, and I think teachers still refer to them. There was a bit of a problem with people from the community--who thought the project really wasn't addressing our real problems. I was also bothered because those running the project at Temple didn't involve the principals enough. At my insistence principals were given a more active role. I worked with the other principals involved in writing a handbook on the teacher corps and the principal--but it was never printed, even though we were promised it would be.

I think our recent involvement in mastery learning is also important. I heard about mastery learning, visited a school in Brooklyn where they are using it, discussed it with some of our key teachers, and arranged for interested teachers to attend workshops offered by the Affective Education office. I think now about ten of our teachers use mastery learning principles and another ten know about it. I think we would have had much more teacher participation if I had taken a more active role in the project.

Of course, I'm not the only one providing instructional leadership here. The vice-principal at my urging is taking a more active role, getting out into the building, checking lesson plans, and visiting classes. A few of our department heads are providing leadership. And the director from 21st street does a good job keeping math teachers on their toes.

But we have serious problems, of course. I feel enthusiastic about my job, but we're still not approaching our instructional tasks with enthusiasm. We'll drift into next year, instead of moving into it. It's hard for me to plan ahead for the next few years. There is no long-range planning downtown. The people down there are out of touch with the schools. They sit in their offices and issue mandates. No one down there is paying any real attention to us. They're all busy jockeying for position in the race to be the next superintendent. There's a lot of talk about important changes, but nothing seems to be getting done. And we don't get enough supervisory help. The district supervisor has seventy-two schools to cover; she doesn't have time to observe teachers. What happens if we get a turkey?

And here in the school the department heads are not as much help as they could be. They're just book clerks. When I was away recently on a trip, I asked teachers to submit lesson plans--and I knew I could not rely on all the chairpersons to help. The strike, of course, set us all back. I would like an uninterrupted year for a change--so we can make some plans. Teacher absenteeism is a problem. Teachers don't want to stay after school or do special planning. They feel dispirited. And we principals are bitter about our own contract. I've had to be tough with teachers. During the past several years I have rated five teachers as unsatisfactory. And one case still has me upset. I rated this one teacher as unsatisfactory. The teacher sued me. My legal costs were picked up by the NASSP (the national principals association), not by the local board. The board said they would not pay my legal costs because the teacher was a resident of New Jersey and the case was being tried there. I won the case--but the teacher is still here on the staff.

As I look ahead, one of the things that concerns me is the issue of school organization--whether we should have middle or junior high schools. I suppose I have mixed feelings about the issue. We need a consistent junior-middle school philosophy. Right now it's a philosophy of "let a thousand flowers bloom". There are too many magnet programs drawing off the top students. I'm worried about what the district is planning for middle schools--and what those plans mean for me. Our junior high principals group should be more active--but the principal who heads our group is too busy worrying about the politics of the superintendency. So as a result the junior highs are getting dumped on. If we were reorganized as a middle school, we could reorganize the staff. But I think a lot of our teachers are apprehensive about having to deal with 5th and 6th graders in a middle school.

So where am I headed? I'm not sure. I have to accept the fact that I might be destined to be a middle manager. The more I see how the district superintendent works, the less I am attracted to that position. I may take a sabbatical to teach abroad. But I'm not sure. I'm starting my twelfth year here, but I don't feel jaundiced. I've applied twice to be a district superintendent. Each time I've finished in the top five--but in each case the decision was made on the basis

> of political and ethnic factors. In Philadelphia schools your ethnic identity is important when it comes to being promoted. The district superintendents are awarded by ethnic rotation. When Cohen got the district superintendent's job, it was widely known throughout the city that the person to be selected would be a member of B'nai Brith lodge (an association of Jewish educators in Philadelphia). The last time I applied for the district job, Marcase (the superintendent of schools) came out to interview me--and I heard from several sources that he was really impressed by the interview. I've put in an application to be superintendent of schools. I really don't think I have much chance of getting the job--but it's good to keep reminding them that I'm here.

In reviewing later this summary of the interviews, Principal Lightfoot made this comment about his feelings of "drifting into next year": "It didn't work out that way. We planned for it in spite of a lack of a long-range plans." He also reported feeling more positive about the support he was receiving from "21st Street". He seems to feel now that channels of communication are much more open and that more help is being provided.

The day following one of the interviews in which Lightfoot seemed to be somewhat negative about the school's present status and its future, he wrote the following letter to the researcher who had interviewed him. It is included here in order to round out the picture of how Lightfoot sees himself and the school.

Another way to round out the picture of Lightfoot is to add some extended comments Lightfoot offered to the researchers after reviewing a first draft of the report. (His comments are quoted verbatim below, except for some minor changes made to preserve confidentiality.)

TELEPHONES.

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

STREETS

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

April 15, 1982

Dr. Allan Glatthorn
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education
37th & Walnut Sts.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

Dear Dr. Glatthorn:

Yesterday's discussion of where we are headed seemed disjointed and confused, contrary to what is actual. There is a definite plan of where ought to be that I see clearly. What happens in the long run may be dictated by external forces but we are really certain that the goals for the next several years revolve around:

1. Raising achievement levels
2. Improving attendance
3. Updating the curriculum to meet future needs of students; e.g.,computer literacy, basic literacy,parenting skills
4. Renewed community involvement

These are not simply verbalizations, they will be implemented by increased staff supervision, increased efforts to bring the community into the school, and increased efforts to improve communication among staff.

On Thursday, April 15, the department chairmen will meet to discuss the Annual Report due on May 12. We will meet again on April 30 to see where we have gone in response to the seventeen page plan. We need to have a definite plan by June that teachers will buy into for September.

I hope that this clarifies my position and helps in your research. While I feel the system is in flux, I also believe in Tolstoy's philosophy that the field commanders and troops decide the battles despite the mechinations of the generals. So we will go on committed to providing a quality educational program and not let extraneous forces divert us. Hopefully, we as a staff are not drifting nor rudderless.

Sincerely,

Principal

There are several areas of the document that, in my opinion, need clarification.

The basic premise of your research is that the principal is the instructional leader of the school and that the stronger he functions in this role the greater the achievement of students. I will not quarrel with this even though some recent research is questioning this premise. But I want you to be aware of forces that have, perhaps, led to the anomalies of behavior that you have observed.

In 1970 the superintendent, with the help of others, developed the Institute for Advanced Administrative Study. I chaired the planning of the district's piece of that action. The entire thrust was that the principal must wipe the concept of "instructional leader" from his thinking and function as a "manager". I was appointed to the principalship at the conclusion of that institute. By the time the new superintendent arrived on the scene, many directors were calling for a more ordered curriculum and a return of the principal to his former role. However, we had three years of maintenance, cuts and a burgeoning special education population as a result of PL94-142 and Judge Becker's intervention. In the twelve years I have changed vice principals eight times in the one position. O'Brien has remained constant. During all of this time I tried to focus on curriculum but ended each year with the feeling that I hardly was able to do enough in the classroom.

In 1981-82 after the horror of the strike I did observe more classes, and contrary to your document, held follow-up sessions with these teachers. I shall specify these in the body of my critique.

Though I feel strongly that Department Chairmen on the junior high level are weak by their job definition, I value their input. We held regular meetings throughout the Spring and agreed to present the staff with tighter promotional and grading standards. Departments are developing mid-term and final examinations based on agreed upon goals. More supervision would be possible if Department Chairmen enjoyed a status outside of the PFT and were given similar roster compensation to that of their senior high colleagues.

I do ask teachers to invite me to observe and was able to respond to this request at least four times in May and June. I am well aware of the different models of supervision and intend to use some of them this year.

As I mentioned, Brown came up by about ten points in last years CAT testing. Our tightened standards for behavior, homework, and attendance should aid significantly in our aim to make Brown an outstanding school.

Sure, I'm political. The very nature of the job makes conciliation skills a necessity. One can be political and still have integrity and principles. Some on staff would like me to take stands simply to demonstrate power. That can be self-defeating, in my view.

I think it is also important to note that of the four schools you studied only Brown has the diversity of population. The geographic area that it serves is also more economically diverse than any of the other schools. These factors impinge on everyone's behavior. Some of the staff who came as a result of forced integration from all black schools are only now, three and four years later, beginning to accept the differences. Many were resentful and some were afraid to be in our neighborhood. The principal, in such a setting, must be constantly aware of nuances and sensitive to interactions.

While it is true that grant money has dried up, we nevertheless did submit a proposal to Radio Shack which would have been funded had we not included a quote from Marcase and a description of the Division of Instructional Services (proposals had to be blind). Another proposal for Problem Solving via Computer will be submitted in October as well as to seek an additional grant from the Commonwealth for computer education.

Contrary to the perception that I am "soured", I see each year as a challenge. My hope is that this year I am finally on my way to running a school in cooperation with my colleagues in a fashion that makes sense to me. For the first time we seem to be able to act rather than react. Can you realize the difference this makes?

Please feel free to continue the dialog.

Lightfoot's Interactions: the Observations and the Log

In quantifying and analyzing the observational data, it was decided to use the "behavioral event" as the basic unit of analysis with Principal Lightfoot's activities. As defined by Morris and others (1981) a behavioral event is "a piece of managerial business which, for the sake of analysis, may be separated out from surrounding activity and examined from a number of different standpoints" (p. 30). As we use the term, a behavioral event is a bounded interaction between the principal and some other individual in which both the focus and the location remain the same.

It seemed useful to us to examine three aspects of the principal's behavioral events: the location, or where the event took place; the focus, or the type of concern or problem dealt with; and the other person involved in the behavioral event.

As Table 9 indicates, most of Principal Lightfoot's events took place in his office; almost two-thirds of the time he was observed involved office interactions. If the events taking place in the outer office are added to this total, the total of office-located events rises to three-fourths of the total. Almost all the rest of the time is spent in the corridors, classrooms, or other centers of pupil activity. While it seems likely that the researchers' presence had some effect on where Lightfoot does his business, it is perhaps fair to say that his office is the center of his school life.

And, as Table 10 suggests, while in that office he seems most concerned with pupils--with their discipline, their attendance, the academic progress, and their schedules. In fact, if the categories including all direct involvement with pupil concerns (pupil discipline and attendance, individual pupil concerns, pupil activity program and assemblies, and special education) are summed, then it is clear that almost half of his time is spent in dealing with problems and issues in which an individual pupil or a group of pupils is the focus of concern. In a sense, then, it might be accurate to characterize Principal Lightfoot as "pupil centered". This conclusion drawn from the analysis of the observational data can be illustrated by one vignette drawn from the researcher's notes: on a busy day in April, Lightfoot spent about an hour trying to locate and retrieve the clothing of a boy who had been injured during gym class.

As might be expected, teachers are second in general importance, in terms of the focus of concern. About one-fifth of the interactions were concerned with teachers' rosters, substitute coverage, or teacher supervision. One perhaps surprising result is the seeming unimportance of curricular concerns. Throughout all the observations, a curricular concern (the content of a given course, the substance of what was being taught, the academic program offered the students) came up only once.

Principal Lightfoot interacted most with individual classroom teachers or with either of the vice-principals; about one-fifth of his time was spent with either a teacher or a vice-principal. Individual pupils were also important, as Table 11 shows; 17% of the events involved interactions with a pupil. (It should be stressed here that Lightfoot's interactions with the researchers are not included in any of the

Table 9

Location of Behavioral Events for Principal Lightfoot

Location	Number	Percentage of Total
Principal's office	139	65.6
Corridor	21	9.9
Outer office	19	9.0
Classroom	16	7.5
Other*	17	8.0
TOTAL	212	

*Other number of locations: cafeteria, 5; out of building, 5; nurse's office, 3; roster room, 1; discipline room, 1; vice-principal's office, 1; gym, 1.

Table 10

Focus of Behavioral Interactions, Principal Lightfoot

Focus	Number	Percentage of Total
Pupil discipline, pupil attendance	49	23.1
Individual pupil concerns (testing, academic progress, schedule, etc.)	28	13.2
Teacher roster, substitute coverage	22	10.4
Teacher supervision	21	9.9
Budget, plant, equipment	21	9.9
Special education	16	7.5
Pupil activity program, assemblies	9	4.2
Parent, community relations	8	3.8
Non-instructional personnel	3	1.4
Curriculum	1	0.4
Other*	34	16.0
TOTAL	212	

*Other foci, number of: student health, 7; teaching a class, 5; vice-principal selection, 5; personal business, 4; teacher health, 3; payroll, 2; tokesn, 2; secretary luncheon, 2; vice-principal duties, 2; vice-principal absence, 1; district polities, 1.

Table 11

Person Involved in Behavioral Events, Principal Lightfoot

Person	Number	Percentage of Total
Teacher	45	21.2
Vice-principal	44	20.8
Pupil	36	17.0
Non-instructional personnel (other than secretary)	24	11.3
Nurse or counselor	16	7.5
Department chairperson	15	7.1
Secretary	11	5.2
Parent	11	5.2
Special education supervisor from district	10	4.7
TOTAL	212	

foregoing analyses.)

In general, then, the analysis of the behavioral events observed by the researchers in thirteen days of direct observation yields this general picture of Principal Lightfoot:

> He is in his office, talking with a teacher or one of the vice-principals about the conduct or the academic progress of an individual pupil.

In general, the log kept by Principal Lightfoot tends to bear out the observational data, at least insofar as the focus of the events is concerned. Lightfoot kept his own log on nineteen days when the researchers were not present, noting only the focus of the event, not the location or the other person involved. Again pupil discipline and pupil attendance were foremost in occupying his attention, according to his own logs. As Table 12 indicates, slightly more than one-fifth of these interactions were concerned with discipline and attendance. Individual pupil concerns other than discipline and attendance were again important: they were the focus of 12.7% of the events according to his log, as compared with 13.2% in the observational data. There was a marked difference in the amount of time devoted to supervision. According to Lightfoot's log, he spent about 20% of the logged time on supervision; according to the researchers' observations, about 10% of observed time was devoted to teacher supervision. But for the most part, Lightfoot's logs reinforce the general impression of the observers: that this is a principal who is primarily concerned with individual pupils.

Table 12

Focus of Lightfoot Events as Reflected in His Log

Event	Number	Percentage of Total
Pupil discipline, pupil attendance	50	21.2
Teacher supervision	48	20.3
Budget, plant, equipment	33	14.0
Individual pupil concerns	30	12.7
Curriculum	18	7.6
Parent, community relations	12	5.1
Pupil activity program	11	4.7
Non-instructional personnel	3	1.3
Other*	31	13.1
TOTAL	236	

*Other foci, number of: taking care of mail, 5; professional meetings, 5; other school administrators, 5; personal business, 5; covering classes, 4; miscellaneous, 7.

Principal Lightfoot as the Teachers See Him

The teacher interviews were in general negative in their appraisal of Lightfoot. Only one of the eight teachers interviewed expressed generally positive feelings about him, characterizing him as "fair" and "bright--almost too bright for the job". Three of the eight teachers gave his performance mixed reviews; their negative and positive comments seemed about equal in number. One teacher's responses could be characterized as "negative"; the other three were strongly negative in their tenor.

As Table 13 indicates, the negative comments expressed in the interviews tended to fall into five categories: teacher relationships, his supervisory behaviors, leadership style, problem-solving processes, and student relationships. In general those who view him negatively see him as a principal who does not have enough positive interaction and communication with teachers, does not observe enough and does not give adequate feedback after observation, is not sufficiently visible, and is too political in his leadership style.

The same five categories were used to analyze the positive comments. As Table 14 indicates, most of the positive comments were in the area of "leadership style". Teachers interviewed spoke positively about his approachability and his willingness to change and about the leadership he provided in introducing mastery learning and team learning to the faculty. Those who viewed him in positive terms saw his faculty relationships as more supportive and equitable and viewed his problem-solving style as one informed by his own brightness and openness to innovation.

Table 13

Number of Negative Comments about Principal Lightfoot in Teacher Interviews

Negative Comments	Number of Comments
TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS	
Does not help or support teachers	3
Teachers do not respect or have confidence in him	3
Does not praise or reward teachers	2
Does not communicate enough with teachers	2
Does not check on non-performers	1
Teachers do not trust him	1
SUPERVISORY BEHAVIORS	
Does not observe enough	4
Does not give good feedback after observing	4
LEADERSHIP STYLE	
Is not visible enough	5
Shows favoritism	4
Plays politics too much	2
Gossips too much	2
Is "burnt out"	1
Too possessive of school	1
Doesn't care enough about school	1
PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESSES	
Has wrong priorities	2
Does not clarify objectives	1
Gets poor input	1
Adopts innovations without analysis	1
Does not follow through	1
STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS	
Students feel negative about him	1
Students do not know him	1
Is afraid of students	1

Table 14

Number of Positive Comments about Principal Lightfoot in Teacher Interviews

Positive Comments	Number of Comments
TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS	
Praises and supports teachers	2
Encourages teachers to cooperate	1
Is fair with teachers	1
Keeps teachers informed	1
Is concerned with teachers' health	1
SUPERVISORY BEHAVIORS	
No positive comments expressed	
LEADERSHIP STYLE	
Initiated mastery and team learning	3
Is approachable	2
Covers classes for absent teachers	2
Is willing to change	2
PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESSES	
Is bright	2
Is open to innovation	2
Knows the reading program well	1
STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS	
No positive comments expressed	

Aside from their comments about Principal Lightfoot, the teachers in their interviews revealed other important insights about their feelings and attitudes. First, the tenor of their comments about the school was rather negative. Of the eight teachers interviewed, only one expressed mixed feelings about the school in general; the other seven expressed feelings that could best be characterized as "negative" or "strongly negative". Perhaps surprisingly, they were also rather critical of their colleagues. Only one of the eight teachers interviewed spoke positively about the faculty in general; two expressed mixed feelings; the remaining five were critical of their colleagues. Such critical comments as these were made: "too much absenteeism", "the union is too strong", "morale is low", "teachers lack commitment", "we don't work together", "there is too much faculty instability", "ethnic divisions among the faculty complicate our relationships", "we set a poor example for our students", "we don't communicate enough", "we're too cliquish".

Their comments also indicated mixed perceptions about the instructional leadership in their school. Of the six who made explicit reference to this issue, three indicated that they saw the department chairperson as the instructional leader; one felt that the vice-principal was the instructional leader; and two expressed the belief that there was no instructional leader in their school.

The teachers' responses to the special questions at the end of the survey instrument yield additional insights about the perceptions of Lightfoot. As Table 15 indicates, about half of the teachers responding believe that he monitors pupil behavior in the school's public spaces (halls and cafeteria) from one to three times each day, a perception that is in general borne out by the researchers' observations. Their reports also indicate that he seems to vary the intensity of supervision: about one-fifth of the teachers responding indicated that they had been observed more than three times during the previous academic year; about one-fourth had been observed twice by the principal; a similar number had been observed once; and about a third of the teachers responding indicated that they had not been observed at all last year by the principal. (See Table 16.) The same sort of differential treatment seems evident in their responses to the question concerning the principal's inspection of lesson plans. When asked about the number of times the principal had requested their lesson plans for review during the previous academic year, half of those responding, as Table 17 shows, reported that this had not happened at all. More than one-fourth reported that this had happened between 2-5 times, and fifteen percent indicated that, according to their recollections, it had occurred only once.

According to teacher recollections, the vice-principal at Brown is not a frequent observer of the classroom. Almost two-thirds of the teachers responding indicated that the vice-principal had not observed their classes at all during the previous year. (See Table 18.) These data, along with those for the principal, suggest that there must be many teachers at Brown who last year were not observed by any administrator.

The teachers at Brown seem to have mixed perceptions about the present state of their school's instructional leadership. Note in

Table 15

Teacher Perception of Principal Lightfoot's Hall Monitoring

Number of Times Daily Principal Monitors Pupil Hall, Cafeteria Behavior	Number Responding	Percentage
4 or more	6	11.8
2 or 3	15	29.4
1	10	19.6
0	5	9.8
Uncertain	15	29.4
Total	51	

Table 16

Number of Times Principal Lightfoot Observed Classroom Last Year

Number of Times Teacher Reports Being Observed Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
More than 3	9	19.6
2	11	23.9
1	11	23.9
0	15	32.6
Total	46	

Table 17

Number of Times Principal Lightfoot Requested Lesson Plans Last Year

Number of Times Lesson Plans Requested Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
10 or more	1	2
6 - 9	2	4
2 - 5	13	28
1	7	15
None	23	50
Total	46	

Table 18

Number of Times Brown Teachers Report Vice-Principal Observed Classroom

Number of Times Teachers Report Being Observed by Vice-Principal Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
More than 3	3	6.5
2	4	8.7
1	9	19.6
0	30	65.2
Total	46	

Table 19 that approximately 30% reported positive feelings (responding either that they felt the school was making "real gains" or "some progress"), while approximately 43% reported negative feelings ("slipping a little" or "losing ground"). Perhaps the most important fact to be noted here is that slightly more than two-fifths of the faculty responding indicated that they believe their school is "losing ground".

Most of the teachers at Brown believe that instructional leadership is a low priority for Lightfoot. As Table 20 indicates, they perceive him to be most concerned with district and central office relationships; they believe that the business management of the school is his second priority; and instructional leadership is fourth, higher only than "student relations".

In sum, then, the teachers' responses to the final survey questions indicate that in general they hold this picture of their principal and school:

> Instructional leadership is a low priority for our principal, and we feel we are slipping a little or losing ground when it comes to instructional leadership. He supervises us with varying degrees of intensity; some of us are not observed at all and our lesson plans are not checked; a few of us are observed frequently and our lesson plans checked often. Two or three times a day he is in the corridors or cafeteria checking on pupil behavior.

Lightfoot and the Students

Lightfoot's relationships with students seem complex and somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, there are many indications that he takes a special and positive interest in students. As the analysis of both the observational data and his own logs indicate, he spends much of his time

Table 19

Brown Teachers' Perceptions of Present State of Instructional Leadership

Teacher Perception	Number	Percentage
Making real gains	4	8.2
Making some progress	10	20.4
Don't know	14	28.6
Slipping a little	1	2.0
Losing ground	20	40.8
Total	49	

Table 20

Teacher Perceptions of Lightfoot Priorities

Area	Mean Ranking[a]
1. School district relations	2.2
2. Business management	2.8
3. Instructional leadership	3.2
4. School-community relations	3.3
5. Student relations	3.4

[a] 1 = highest priority; 5 = lowest priority

dealing with individual students and their problems. He seems to take a particular interest in special education students. While other junior high principals assign the overseeing of special education to the vice-principal, Lightfoot makes it his concern. On one occasion the researcher observed him spend at least an hour, consulting with the mother, the father, and a new pupil being admitted, taking special pains to find the best teacher and the best group of classmates for a boy who needed special help. On another occasion he spent an hour trying to locate and retrieve the clothing of a boy who had been injured in gym class. And five of the seven students interviewed made positive comments about him: "he's nice", "he understands my problems", "he tries to help", "he seems concerned".

On the other hand, there are some indications his student relationships are not positive. His interactions with students in the corridors were almost entirely negative, on those days when he was observed by the researchers: he admonished, scolded, criticized in tones that often seemed curt and peremptory. Five of the students interviewed also made negative comments about him: "he's mean to kids", "he doesn't hear our side", "he changes the schedule of assemblies and activities without notifying us", "he doesn't care about our academic success". In both his corridor interactions and his classroom stints, he seemed to be talking over their heads, in metaphors they did not understand.

Several of his comments suggest that he may be overly sensitive to matters of race in his interactions with Black students. Here are several comments he made to Black students that illustrate this hypersensitivity:

> "Get to class, without the shuffling, without the head bobbing."
> "Drop that Pearl Bailey attitude."
> "Those days of slavery are over."
> "Cut out that stroll."

This ambiguity may obviously be an inevitable consequence of his role. His is a large junior high school--with a current enrollment of 1308 pupils. He sees a small number of the "best" students--those earning honors and getting elected to office. And he sees a large number of students who come to the office to be disciplined. And his corridor tours inevitably focus his attention on those causing trouble--and acting as if they are thinking about causing trouble. One of the researchers, who himself was a high school principal, sees him as a man with a basic liking for students--who has been soured by the day-to-day stresses of administering a large urban junior high school, where racial conflict seems to be a continuing threat.

In reviewing this report, Lightfoot commented, "I'm sorry you see me as 'soured'. I don't feel that way. I do want kids to shape up and I do push children to avoid mannerisms that give off defiance as their message."

Lightfoot and Instructional Leadership

One of the central issues of this study, obviously, is that of instructional leadership: in what ways and with what approaches does the principal particularly use to assist the faculty in achieving its instructional objectives? While in a sense all of this study is somewhat concerned with this issue, it might be useful at this juncture to examine it more sharply from several perspectives.

First of all, how does Lightfoot see his instructional leadership? These comments from the interviews seem especially apposite:

> I'm concerned about myself as leader. I've participated in several studies of leadership. My work with (a leadership consult) was very helpful....I was also told that I didn't delegate enough. People say that when I delegate I hold the reins too tight. That's not really the case, I don't think.... I'm really committed to participatory leadership, but (the leadership consultant) says I don't use department heads enough....When I wanted the teacher corps project, I did an end run around them....I'm committed to team decision making.... My scores (on a leadership self-assessment measure) show that I'm not assertive enough.

In his conversations with the researchers, Lightfoot seemed to be very articulate about the issues of instructional leadership. He seems to understand the importance of setting instructional goals and of closely monitoring teacher performance. He often used the public address system to remind the pupils of the importance of academic achievement. He espouses the importance of supervision, even though he has difficulty arranging his schedule so that he can visit classes as often as he wishes. He clearly perceives the need to improve the curriculum, but he does not seem to have a clear-cut strategy for achieving that goal.

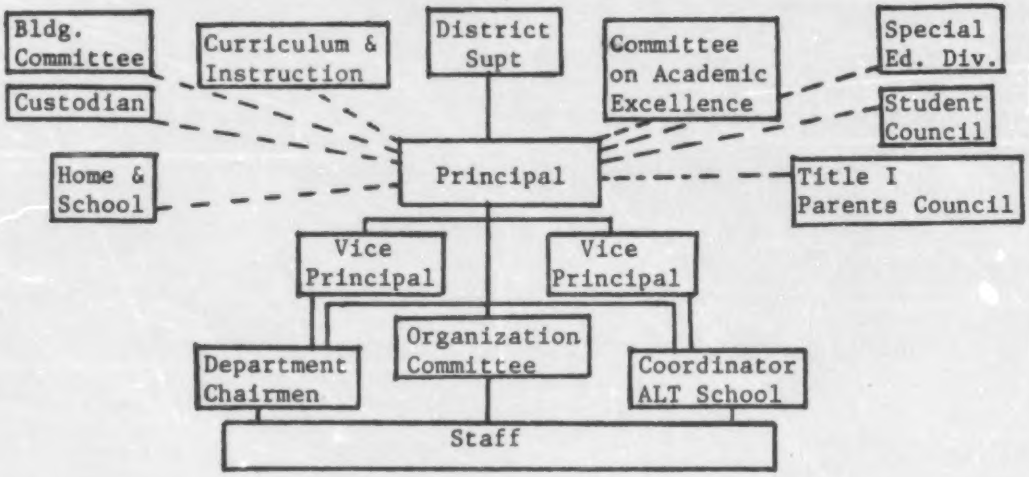
Some additional insight into his approach to instructional leadership can be gained by examining two documents which he prepared. (They are attached here as Figures 1 and 2, with identifying information removed.)

The organizational chart and the listing of duties for the administrative staff both indicate that Lightfoot perceives himself as the instructional leader. Note that he is directly and solely responsible for these instruction-related responsibilities: curriculum development, reading program, department chairmen, Teacher Corps, and the Committee for Academic Excellence. He shares responsibility for supervision, according to the duty list, with the two vice-principals.

The organization chart, reproduced here as received by the researchers, suggests perhaps some of the ambiguity Lightfoot feels about the department chairpersons. The chart was received as a mimeo-graphed document; but the box "department chairmen" and the words labeling that box were drawn in ink, indicating that they had been omitted in the original reproduction. One other anomaly is apparent here. The chart has lines drawn in ink from the boxes representing the two vice-principals, suggesting that the vice-principals are responsible for working with the chairpersons; but the principal lists "department chairmen" in his list of responsibilities--and they are not listed in either of the vice-principal's list of duties. (Lightfoot later noted that the chart does not reflect ambiguity--just careless editing; the 1982-83 chart, he notes, lists department chairpersons under each vice-principal.)

His statement of goals for 1981-82, reproduced as Figure 2, emphasizes three goals: the improvement of staff and student attendance; raising achievement levels; and school image. How will these goals be achieved? The goal of improved attendance will be achieved through administrative monitoring of teacher attendance, and teacher monitoring of pupil attendance, with a student council committee assisting with the latter. The improvement of achievement will come about through these methods: direct instruction; the use of mastery learning by those trained in it; and the "honing" of curriculum units in special areas--by teachers

Figure 1


Bldg. Committee
Curriculum & Instruction
District Supt
Committee on Academic Excellence
Special Ed. Div.
Custodian
Student Council
Home & School
Principal
Title I Parents Council
Vice Principal
Vice Principal
Organization Committee
Department Chairmen
Coordinator ALT School
Staff

Principal

Budget
Administrative
  Coordinator & Policy
Supervision
Roster
Curriculum Development
Reading Program
Counselors
Building Committee
Department Chairmen
Personnel
Community
Custodial Coordination
Teacher Corps
Special Education
Committee for Academic
  Excellence
ACTION Program

Vice Principal

Supervision
Discipline/Disciplinarians
Ninth Grade Activities
Organization Roster
Student Assignment
Student Teachers
District Discipline Committee
Closing Exercises
Alternative School
Secretarial Duties

Vice Principal

Supervision
Discipline/Disciplinarians
N.T.A.'s
New Teacher Orientation
Furniture & Equipment
Lunchroom/Breakfast Prog.
Tokens
Organization/Roster
Fire Marshall
Desegregation Team

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

GOALS FOR 1981-1982

1. IMPROVEMENT OF STUDENT AND STAFF ATTENDANCE

The most effective learning takes place when there is an interaction between teacher and learner. The direct link between teacher and pupil bears directly on the quality of student achievement. Methods must be sought to encourage staff and student attendance to forge these links.

The administration will monitor both the attendance and the timely arrival of staff.

Teachers should make every effort to call parents (where possible), send out postcards, and refer chronic latecomers to the counselors and the disciplinarian. Charts that track daily attendance could be posted in the homeroom and made a project for the students to design, track and compute. Student Council will be encouraged to form an attendance committee to monitor student attendance and to devise ways to improve it.

2. RAISING ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS

Dr. Marcase states in the Introduction to the Blueprint for Academic Achievement

> "We must accelerate the rate of achievement of our students and we must intensify our instructional efforts to achieve that goal . . . We must continue to press forward for the greatest achievement gains possible for the students in our care."

The Blueprint goes on to list certain basic tenets.

1. Most students are capable of learning the knowledge and skills necessary for significant achievement growth. Teacher expecting is a self-fulfilling prophecy.
2. Positive, high expectations of central office staff, district superintendents, principals and teachers, as well as those of parents and students, are fundamental to the process of eliminating low achievement.
3. School District personnel must define those learnings which students should achieve and enable most to learn them.
4. Direct, uninterrupted instructional time is a prerequisite for achievement.
5. Low achievement stems from a variety of complex factors and these factors must be researched. Simplistic answers and solutions merely avoid the problem.

6. The responsibility for raising achievement levels must be assumed by all parties.

Direct instruction must take place. This means actively explaining, clarifying, demonstrating, and involving the students in all aspects of the learning process. Classrooms should be organized to take care of management responsibilities as quickly and efficiently as possible.

Those staff members who have been trained in Mastery Learning will be expected to be teaching in a mastery mode. Preliminary research points to the validity of this method.

In a similar fashion, teachers involved in previous staff developments such as Teacher Corps, Pre-parenthood education, Nutrition, and the like, should continue to refine their units to hone them to replicable form.

Enthusiasm is still another factor related to positive achievement. The Greek derivation suggests "possessed by a God". Stimulating, animated, energetic are appropriate adjectives. Gestures, eye-contact, and varied voice modulations convey the feeling the teacher possesses for his subject.

3. SCHOOL IMAGE

Each of us must work to improve the image of our school. Comments that are damaging, even in jest, should not be made to outsiders. They have a way of boomeranging. We will attempt to get as many positive stories out to the papers as possible.

Our biggest challenge is to get the parents of our students involved. The Home and School Association cannot remain dormant. All of us must work to encourage participation and reach out positively to our community. Volunteers will be sought to help in reading, math, and the I.M.C. Recent press articles indicate the depth of the problems we face. We must join together to change the minds of a public that seems disenchanted with public education and its practitioners.

who have been involved in the related projects. School image will be improved by positive stories to the press, by the revitalization of the Home and School Association, by the use of volunteers.

An analysis of his approach to instructional leadership suggests that there have been some important changes. With the three projects he himself identified as being the most significant, he seems to have played an active role in initiating the project, but then played a less active role in implementation and evaluation of the project. His attention now seems to have shifted to working with individual pupils and supervising closely a small number of less competent teachers.

The teachers seem to have perceived those changes. The teachers who were interviewed praised him for the active role he played in mastery and team learning; they see him as approachable and open to innovation and change. On the other hand the teachers interviewed criticized him for not supervising closely enough, for not communicating enough, for not analyzing innovations sufficiently before implementing them, and for not following through. Another useful source of information about teacher perceptions is the answers to the final question on the teacher survey instrument: "What additional comments can you make that will further describe how instructional leadership tasks are performed in your school?" Eleven of the teachers from Brown chose to respond to this open-ended question. Table 21 summarized the general nature of their responses. (The total number of comments is larger than the number responding, since some made more than one comment.) Observe that all the comments are negative ones, even though the form of the question did not

Table 21

Teacher Comments Concerning Instructional Leadership at Brown Junior High School

Comment Category	Number Making Comment[a]
1. Principal does not provide leadership in pupil discipline.	3
2. There is too much latitude given to teachers.	2
3. Chairpersons are not effective.	2
4. Ineffective teachers are not supervised closely enough.	1
5. Instructional leadership is subject to change, depending upon pressure from district or central office.	1
6. School administrative does not have clear objectives.	1
7. There is no curriculum leadership.	1
8. Leadership in general is poor.	1
9. The principal is biased.	1

[a] n = 11 responding to item

predispose respondents to take a negative position. Observe also that most of the comments suggest that the principal does not play a role in instructional leadership that is sufficiently active, according to the perceptions of those who responded.

This general perception reported by the eleven respondents is supported by the results to the item on the questionnaire asking about the principal's priorities. As Table 20 indicates, the teachers at Brown for the most part believe that instructional leadership for their principal has a low priority--fourth out of five possible priorities suggested.

To summarize, we might make these tentative generalizations about Lightfoot and his role as an instructional leader:

1. He perceives himself as the instructional leader of the school and has organized the administrative staff so that he has chief responsibility for functions relating to instructional leadership.

2. His typical pattern of innovating is to introduce a new project, play an active role in its initial stages, and then delegate to others the responsibility for carrying through and evaluating.

3. He tends not to make systematic use of the department chairpersons because he gets mixed signals from some of them about their roles.

4. He is able to set clear instructional goals for the school but does not present to the faculty a detailed plan for achieving those goals.

5. In the day-to-day carrying out of his administrative responsibilities, he focuses his attention on individual pupils. Often to his dissatisfaction, his time in general is not used to advance the instructional goals he has set.

In reviewing these observations, Lightfoot offered this observation, which deserves to be quoted at length:

> Your observation about my not devoting time to instructional goals is not exactly precise. After conversations with another principal who received detailed scores and goals from his teachers, I had a conference with central office staff involved with mastery learning. I found that once again the system was unwittingly designed to by-pass the principal. Scores and units were turned into the Affective Education office, but the principal was not copied. Therefore, I asked the teachers to invite me in to share their lessons with me. I am determined this year that I will be kept abreast of what is happening. Similar situations occurred with Teacher Corps projects. All administrators who were not actively involved as participants had to keep reminding the directors to keep us informed. Unless the individual teacher came to us or unless I initiated the contact, I was often unaware of projects being developed. It was hardly that I'm inaccessible; as you have noted, I am always accessible to teachers.

One of the crucial aspects of instructional leadership, obviously, is teacher supervision, which in this report is defined as "monitoring the planning and teaching of the instructional staff." How does Principal Lightfoot carry out the supervisory aspects of his role? The answer is a complex one.

To begin with, supervision seems to have a high priority in his theory of leadership. He considers himself an excellent teacher and a perceptive classroom observer. His comments to the researchers suggest that he is sincerely concerned about the need to supervise instruction more closely. On three separate occasions, he announced to the researchers, "I planned to do some observing today--but more pressing matters are interfering." On one of those days, he devoted his time instead to attempting to get a hazardous playground condition corrected. On another occasion he took the time to concentrate on a building maintenance problem. On the third occasion he decided to watch a local television show on which several of his students made a brief appearance.

In reviewing this section of the report, Lightfoot indicated that he thought his choices in each instance were wise ones. He noted that building maintenance must have a higher priority than even supervision, since he is primarily responsible for the health and safety of pupils. He also feels that he made the right decision in watching the television show. He pointed out, "The children were really happy that I had seen them," He also noted that the activity was "directly tied to the instructional program in those classes and was not a frivolous gesture".

Both his own log and the observations of the researchers indicate that, although he seems to consider supervision an important function, he is not able to give it most of his attention. As Table 12 indicates, about 20% of his logged events involved teacher supervision, but only 10% of the observed events were supervisory in nature.

His checking of teacher lesson plans was similarly marked by this discrepancy between belief and practice. His comments to the researchers suggested that he considered the checking of written plans a useful means of monitoring the planning function. Yet, in the year during which this study was conducted, lesson plans were not requested until March; he took a vacation, and during his absence the vice-principal for the first time that year asked teachers to turn in their lesson plan books. The vice-principal, in an interview with one of the researchers, seemed to imply that the checking of the planbooks was his (the vice-principal's) idea; the principal at a later point commented to the researcher, "I have asked the vice-principal to take a more active role in supervision; at my direction he called in lesson plans when I went on my trip."

The teachers' responses to the concluding questionnaire items suggest that he supervises with differential intensity. As Table 16 indicates, about one-fifth of the teachers indicate that they had been observed more than three times during the previous academic year; about one-fourth had been observed twice; a similar number, once; and about a third of the teachers reported that they had not been observed at all last year by the principal. The same sort of differential treatment is apparent in their responses to the principal's inspection of their lesson plans. About one-fourth reported that the principal had checked their planbooks between 2 and 5 times; about 15% indicated that such checking had happened only once; and about half said it had not happened at all the previous year. (See Table 17.)

In his review of this report, Lightfoot commented, "It is simply amazing that half the staff did not remember turning in plans since at least one member of the administration has reviewed plans each year."

When he does supervise, what processes and approaches does he use? Two examples might be useful here, both of which took place on the same day, when one of the researchers was observing. We quote in each instance from the researcher's observational notes:

1. We stop in to visit Title I reading class. There are thirteen students present. Most seem inattentive. There is a spelling list on the board, including the word pliable. The teacher has written on the board thirteen questions to be answered in a book report. All the questions deal with factual recall of book title, author's name, characters' names, plot events. We stand in the back of the room observing.

The teacher asks the pupils to write their answers to the questions on the board. A few make an effort; the rest seem inattentive and unoccupied. The principal moves around the room, checking on the pupils' work. The teacher from time to time asks the class a question. Their answers seem to suggest that they do not understand the book or the terms used to describe it. She asks them about the meaning of conflict; no one seems to know the term. She says, "We'll get to it next week."

From my point of view (the researcher notes) this is a very poor lesson. Not much learning is taking place. The students seemed inattentive and uninvolved. Most of their time was spent in copying questions they did not understand. The questions asked about the work are the wrong ones to ask; there is no concern with their personal response to the work, the meaning they found in it.

After about ten minutes, the principal indicates that he is ready to leave. He writes a note to the teacher and drops it on her desk as we leave.

Later on, while we are sitting together in his office, he shows me the report he has written on the class we observed. The evaluation seems to be a balanced one. He praises the teacher for setting objectives clearly. He commends her for using her voice effectively. He criticizes her for deferring the teaching of the concept of conflict and for her "grammar"--she used "more deeper", rather than "deeper". He indicates that there will be no follow-up conference, since the lesson was satisfactory. The teacher will get a copy of his written evaluation report and will be able to discuss it if she wishes.

(He noted later that a follow-up conference of a half-hour duration was held, and many elements of the lesson and her teaching were discussed. He commented, "The teachers are always offered the opportunity to discuss the lesson. If the lesson is unsatisfactory, a conference is mandated.")

2. We stop in to visit a social studies class. The teacher is showing a rather dated film about the USSR. As we arrive the film is just about concluding. The teacher begins to ask questions about the film. All the questions deal with the pupils' recollection of factual material in the film. The pupils seem unresponsive; their answers are desultory at best--and usually incorrect. After about five minutes of this question asking, the principal without warning takes over the class. The teacher stands at the side of the room while Lightfoot moves to the center. The teacher seems to be seething inside, but says nothing. Lightfoot tries to teach the students the concept of communism by focusing on the word itself--asking about the meaning of the prefix com-. The pupils seem confused. Lightfoot has to answer most of his own questions. With some seeming frustration, Lightfoot tries to move the discussion to areas with which they are familiar; he compares communism with democracy, and talks about the difference between democrat and republican. The pupils seem to have only a very vague idea about the meanings of these words as well. The period ends, and Lightfoot and I leave the room. Lightfoot comments, "That's an example of a demonstration lesson that wasn't asked for."

As we walk through the corridors, Lightfoot complains about the teacher we have just observed: he shows too many movies, doesn't explain enough. Later that day, as we sit in his office, Lightfoot shows me a copy of the evaluation report he has completed on this teacher. The report is rather negative, calling attention to "too much passive watching". As I read the report, Lightfoot comments, "Notice how I tried to build vocabulary by relating the concept to what they knew and what they had to learn." He explains that the teacher will get a copy of his report. He later reported that a de-briefing conference was held.

From these two examples, from the other classroom visits in which the researchers participated, and from Lightfoot's comments we can draw these generalizations about Lightfoot's approach to supervision:

1. Pre-observation conferences are sometimes held; most observations are made on an unannounced basis.

2. Teachers are observed with differential intensity. Teachers who seem to be having problems or who the principal believes are marginal performers are more frequently observed.

3. Observations are of a relatively brief duration, lasting 5-15 minutes.

4. After some observations, there is a follow-up conference. If the principal believes the instruction observed was manifestly unsatisfactory, a conference is mandated, at which time the teacher may have a union representative participate as an advocate.

5. The principal prepares an evaluation report, using a "no-carbon-required" commercially prepared form; the principal keeps a copy and the teacher gets a copy.

6. The evaluation report does not give specific detailed objective feedback; instead it seems to render general judgments about such matters as pupil activity, teacher voice, and teaching technique.

(Lightfoot later noted that a revised evaluation form is now being used in observing reading and mathematics lessons; he believes these new forms "hone in more effectively" on the structure of lessons.)

Lightfoot's Problem-Solving Processes

One of the important aspects of a principal's leadership style is the way he or she solves problems and makes decisions. Here, of course, there is a discrepancy between the ideal and the reality. Specialists in problem-solving and decision-making usually recommend a process for solving important problems that goes something like this:

1. Classify the problem according to its importance and your responsibility to solve it.
2. For important problems for which you have a decision-making responsibility, gather as much information as you can about the background and nature of the problem.
3. Define the problem as clearly as you can, being sure to get input from those affected.
4. Develop a range of alternative solutions, getting input from knowledgeable people and using creative problem-solving processes-again being sure to involve those who are affected and care about the problem.
5. Examine the possible consequences of the proposed solutions, getting input from subordinates who will be responsible for implementing solutions.
6. Choose a solution, develop an implementation plan and an evaluation strategy.
7. Implement and evaluate the solution.

(See, for example, Smith, Mazzarella, and Piele, 1981.)

The research on the way principals actually solve problems and make decisions suggests that they almost never use such a rational and systematic approach. Studies by such researchers as Peterson (1978), Sproull (1977), and Martin (1980) suggest that the typical principal makes a multitude of minor decisions, usually without much rational analysis, and rarely does any systematic problem solving.

It might therefore be useful to examine more closely this particular aspect of Principal Lightfoot's leadership style. How does he make decisions and solve problems?

Let's first listen to his own words relative to this question:

> I'm committed to team decision-making....I try to be flexible in my decision-making style. When I need to make quick decisions, I can make them. When I need to be more reflective, then I can. When I have to make a decision, I look at the options, and then make a decision.

How do others see Lightfoot's problem solving processes? The two vice-principals who were interviewed both agreed that Lightfoot was open and receptive to new ideas, that he welcomed their input about problems. Both also acknowledged, however, that at times they felt they had not been consulted sufficiently when a major solution had been developed. The teachers who were interviewed were generally critical of Lightfoot's problem-solving processes. As can be seen in Table 13 they criticized him for the following aspects: has wrong priorities, does not clarify objectives, gets poor input, adopts innovations without analysis, and does not follow through. It should be noted here, of course, that there were only eight teachers interviewed, and there is no way of knowing whether their views are representative of general faculty perceptions.

In review of this report, Lightfoot took strong exception to the criticism that innovations are adopted without analysis: "No innovation is adopted without careful consideration of what is involved and without research available. I have no idea as to the reference points for these comments."

What do the observational data suggest about his problem-solving processes and decision-making approaches? A review of all the observational data suggests a pattern of this sort:

1. Most of the decisions involve actions taken concerning an individual teacher or student.
2. Most of the decisions involve what the researchers judge to be relatively minor issues; major decisions that have a wide impact on school program are not much in evidence.
3. In most of the decisions that Lightfoot makes, he feels governed by broad district policies, guidelines, and contracts, but exercises some discretion in administering those directives.
4. He tends to get input from a small number of colleagues: the senior vice-principal, the reading department chairperson, the social studies chairperson seem especially influential.
5. On a typical day he makes about 10-15 conscious decisions.
6. For the most part he makes those decisions quickly, within a minute or two of being presented with the options.

Let's examine some of the more observational data more closely in order to particularize those generalizations. First, consider the range and type of decisions he made on what seems to have been a typical day--April 19, 1982: ("Decision" in this sense is taken to mean "a conscious choice of an action to be taken, when more than one option presents itself.")

1. Assigns teachers to cover particular classes for absentees.
2. Reinstates a student who had been suspended.
3. Classifies a teacher absence, following district guidelines.

4. Classifies a student absence as truancy.
5. Tries to secure additional help for a student experiencing problems.
6. Permits student to leave early.
7. After consultation with vice-principal, agrees to have a student arrested, if it is determined that student was guilty of damaging the school organ.
8. Sends encyclopedia to alternative school.
9. Covers a class for an absent teacher.
10. Gives a student tokens.
11. Tells a group of students that they should bring parents in to school if they are unhappy with a particular teacher.

During the thirty-two days during which he was either observed directly or he kept his own log of activities, he was involved in twenty-two meetings. (See Table 21a.) ("Meeting" is used here to mean any scheduled discussion involving the principal and three or more individuals.) Almost half of those meetings involved special education concerns; Lightfoot at one point commented that special education occupied "40% of (his) initiating the meeting or determining the agenda--the two home-and-school meetings, the meeting with the organizing committee, and the staff development meeting.

And the processes he used in solving a problem of report card distribution seems to shed some light on his approach. One of the recurring concerns for junior high principals in urban schools is how to get pupil report cards to parents in a constructive fashion. Before the first report cards were to be distributed during 1981-82 school year, Lightfoot considered the options he had for getting the report

Table 21a

Analysis of Meetings Attended by Lightfoot

Nature of Meeting	Number	Focus and Concern of Meeting
Special education	9	Developing a program and a schedule for special education student or determining a schedule for a special education teacher.
Executive academy	3	Attending training sessions for school principals.
District	3	Meeting with district superintendent and other principals in that district to discuss policies and problems.
Building representatives	1	Meeting with teachers' union representatives to hear their concerns and deal with them.
Home-school association	2	Meeting with home and school officers to discuss parent participation.
Organizing committee	1	Meeting with teacher committee to discuss school schedule.
Philadelphia Association of School Administrators	1	Meeting with other junior high principals to discuss common concerns.
Teacher-initiated	1	Meeting with three teachers who are having problems with students--to air problem and determine how to deal with students.
Staff development	1	Developing an inservice program for reading teachers.
Total	22	

cards to parents. He had heard about a nearby junior high school which had had some success with meetings during the school day. The idea seemed attractive to him. He broached the idea to his senior vice-principal. The vice-principal articulated several objections during a very brief interchange lasting perhaps five minutes. Lightfoot dropped the idea and continued to use the system of evening meetings which they had been using.

In retrospect, the problem seems to have been an important one, since it directly impacts on all students, parents, and teachers. And conventional wisdom about administrative problem solving would have probably recommended holding a meeting in which parent and teacher representatives would have examined the options available, assessed the present system, and developed a range of alternative solutions. For his own reasons, Lightfoot chose to get input only from his vice-principal--and to make the decision after only very limited analysis of the data and the options.

In reviewing this section of the report, Lightfoot commented, "My own reasons included a lack of parental involvement at the time. I also did discuss it after you left with the others. As we looked at the numbers of parents coming out during the days I decided to stick with our long-standing practice."

Lightfoot: the Developmental History and the Basic Style

Perhaps an analysis of the developmental history of Lightfoot's leadership at Brown would be useful at this juncture. He arrived at Brown as principal in 1970, when he was thirty-eight years old. He had been a junior high school teacher and vice-principal in other schools in Philadelphia and seemed to have gained a reputation at that time as an "up and coming administrator". In his second year as principal, he played an active role in initiating a criterion-referenced reading instruction and assessment project; according to Lightfoot, the effects of that first project are still in evidence--and it seems to be the project about which he feels the greatest pride. About two years after that, he again played an active initiatory role, by his own testimony, in planning and implementing under the aegis of the Teacher Corps an inter-disciplinary curriculum project. The comments made during the interviews suggest that he sees that project as only moderately successful: materials were developed but are not widely used in the school. Then, about two years ago, he developed an active interest in mastery learning, an approach which was being strongly advocated by the school district's Affective Education office. Again he played an active role in initiating his school's participation in the project; he visited a school where it was being implemented, took training in the use of mastery learning, and arranged for a group of his teachers to participate. By his own admission, only ten teachers use mastery learning principles in their teaching; and, although there are signs and posters around the school proclaiming the virtues of mastery learning, there is little evidence that it has made a major impact on the general instructional program.

While his letter to one of the researchers speaks of "updating the curriculum...computer literacy, basic literacy, parenting skills", the general thrust of his comments in the letter and in the interviews speak not of major innovations but of improving and refining: "raising achievement levels, improving attendance, renewed community involvement."

During that twelve-year period when he has been principal of Brown Junior High School, the Philadelphia School District has undergone several crises in leadership, fiscal management, labor relations, and community criticism. Just a few months ago, while this study was underway, the superintendent of schools announced his early retirement, succumbing to intense pressure from the mayor and some members of a sharply divided school board. Every year for the past several years, at budget-making time the school district's fiscal administrators announce deficits of what seem to the public to be overwhelming proportions, and the term "bankruptcy" is used to describe in literal terms the fiscal condition of the school district. During the years that Lightfoot has been principal, there have been five major teacher strikes, the most recent one lasting almost three months and leaving in its wake seriously damaged teacher-administrator relationships. The divisiveness caused by the strikes has been exacerbated by frequent changes in faculty personnel, so that Lightfoot has faced every year not being sure of the make-up of his staff. Teachers are transferred to effect racial integration, to even out staff allocations as enrollments decline, and to appease principals with whom they are having difficulty.

His own career aspirations seem to have changed over these past twelve years. He first applied for the position of district superintendent about six years ago. He was one of the finalists but was not finally selected. He again applied about three years ago and again became one of five finalists, but once more was not finally chosen. Now, at age fifty, he seems resigned to the fact that he will not be promoted further within the school district. He speaks about two options--of teaching abroad in a university, at least during a sabbatical year--and of spending the rest of his career as a "middle-level manager" (to use his term). The options for further upward mobility seem sharply limited. Secondary principals tend not to value "staff" positions in the central office, once they have had line responsibilities. With a school district that is becoming increasingly Black and Hispanic in its student make-up, there are very few opportunities for white males to be promoted to senior high principalships. And the school board recently announced its decision to eliminate one of the district offices, so the district superintendency seems even more remote as a possibility. The facts suggest that Lightfoot's assessment that his options are sharply limited is a very realistic one.

In summary, it could be said that the forces operating to move Lightfoot towards innovation--his own career aspirations, the availability of external funding, and the general support for innovation operating within the profession--have all sharply diminished. And at the same time, the forces operating to restrain him have increased: he no longer seems to pursue promotion opportunities actively; external funds are almost non-existent; he does not believe he is getting direction and leadership at the central level; and educators in general speak in more conservative tones.

Lightfoot seems often to be "political" in his basic orientation to his career, if we can use that term to mean "an attitude characterized by the calculated use of reward power to achieve one's ends". He speaks candidly about the importance of ethnic considerations in administrative promotions. "A few years ago when one of the district superintendent's jobs opened up, it was known throughout the city that the appointment would go to a member of B'nai Brith (a lodge of Jewish educators). So I applied--and I became one of the five finalists." He explained candidly to one of the researchers how he had "stacked" the criteria for a departmental appointment so that a favored candidate could be selected over one whom Lightfoot did not approve.

His interactions with teachers often seem to have "political" overtones. For example, a teacher stopped in to ask for a special favor. Lightfoot's response was, "For you--OK--just don't tell anyone else." One illuminating interaction occurred with the reading chairman, a reading supervisor from the district, and Lightfoot. The district supervisor in a discussion of her work in the school for that day indicated that she was ready to do a demonstration lesson, implying that doing so was some sort of special service. The reading chairman remonstrated with a smile: "Don't promise him (Lightfoot). You don't promise him--you trade him." Lightfoot smiled in response. (Lightfoot later noted that he and the reading chairman often banter and that the chairman's comments in such contexts should not be taken too seriously.) The comments offered by teachers in the interviews suggest that they perceive him as "political". Four of the teachers interviewed volunteered that they believed he "shows favoritism"; two indicated that he "plays politics too much"; and two criticized him for gossiping too much. (See Table 13.)

The Leadership Structure at Brown Junior High School

The formal leadership structure at the Brown Junior High School is quite clear and simple: there are one principal, two vice-principals, and several department chairpersons, one for each instructional department. As Figure 1 indicates, Lightfoot has most of those responsibilities that seem directly related to curriculum and instruction: supervision, curriculum development, reading program, special education, committee for academic excellence, and the action program. The other two vice-principals are expected to assist with supervision, to share the disciplinary responsibilities, and to take care of a variety of managerial concerns. It might be noted here that the vice-principals are assisted in their disciplinary responsibilities by four part-time "disciplinarians", classroom teachers who have been relieved from some teaching responsibilities in order to handle the more routine cases of pupil misbehavior.

In the formal structure, the department chairpersons at the junior high school level are perceived as playing a relatively weak coordinating and assisting role, unlike their counterparts at the high school level who are expected to assume more supervisory responsibilities. The junior high chairperson is expected to order instructional materials, make suggestions about the teaching roster, indoctrinate substitutes, and monitor the curriculum. The specific details of the school's schedule are determined by a faculty "roster committee", headed by a "roster chairman".

What is the informal leadership structure like? Here, of course, the answer is more difficult to determine, especially in a study of limited duration like the present one. But by analyzing all the data available, it is possible to make some tentative generalizations about the informal structure at Brown.

First, of course, the principal does play a key role: Lightfoot is clearly in charge. And even those teachers who seem to fault him for his approach to leadership do not doubt that he is in charge of the school. Second perhaps in importance is the senior vice-principal, John O'Brien. He was born and raised in this community that Brown serves, did his student teaching at Brown, and projects in his comments a genuine warmth for Brown parents and their children. He indicates that he spends most of his time handling discipline--the more serious cases that require administrative action. The other important part of his responsibilities is processing incoming and departing students--a major job in a school like Brown, where there seems to be a great deal of student turnover. The rest of the time he seems to take care of much of the routine business that has to be done in every school. He admits that he doesn't do much teacher supervision, even though he would like to. But it is clear that he plays an important role in the way the school operates on a day-to-day basis. Lightfoot consults with him about most matters; he has easy access to Lightfoot's office and time. And he seems to know most of the students and their families, a knowledge that probably makes him very useful to Lightfoot and very important in the running of the school.

It is difficult to generalize about the role of the other vice-principal in the informal leadership structure, since during the limited time of this study, three different individuals occupied that position. When the study began, the second vice-principal was a young black woman who impressed the researchers as highly competent and very articulate. She indicated to the researchers that her responsibilities were "discipline and tokens". The distribution and management of tokens for the public transportation system did seem to occupy much of her time (and in fact seems to be an important part of the life of most junior high vice-principals in Philadelphia). She left the Brown vice-principalship in March, accepting a position as a vice-principal at a Philadelphia high school. She was succeeded by an acting vice-principal whom Lightfoot appointed until a permanent selection could be made by the district's personnel office. The acting vice-principal was the chairperson of the social studies department. He seemed to be a friend of Lightfoot's, was often in the office, and often seemed to be a sounding-board for Lightfoot when he wanted to talk out some problem. The new vice-principal appointed towards the end of the study came from outside the building; he had been a teacher and supervisor in English-as-a-second-language programs. Of Hispanic origin, he had been appointed, according to Lightfoot, because of the insistence of the community that Hispanics be represented in the administrative structure. It seemed to the researchers that the close and long relationship of Lightfoot and O'Brien meant that any outsider coming on as a vice-principal would have a difficult time becoming centrally involved in the informal leadership structure.

Here again it would seem useful to quote verbatim Lightfoot's reactions to this last observation: "Your perceptions need sharpening. The new vice-principal is very much in the center of the leadership of the school. In fact, I now worry that O'Brien will feel eclipsed. The new vice-principal has been central to strengthening the discipline process and works diligently at it. He also has commented that he is amazed that all of these policies were pretty much in place before we reemphasized them. The role of the nurse in the special education assignments is mandated by both policy and law. The medical history of these children is a critical factor in their development and therapy."

While it has been noted that the department chairperson does not have any formal authority, it is evident that the more assertive and competent ones can acquire a great deal of informal influence. At Brown one of the chairpersons who seemed to have been most successful in this regard is the chairperson of the reading department. Lightfoot considers him as one of the instructional leaders in the school. He often seemed to be in the outer office, bantering with the secretaries and teachers who came by, talking with the roster chairman about substitute coverage. And he seemed to be one of Lightfoot's most frequent conferees.

The other person who seems to play a key role in getting things done at Brown is the school nurse. Ordinarily, of course, the school nurse is on the periphery of decision-making at most schools, but at Brown she seems to be much in evidence, is often informally consulted by Lightfoot, and makes many day-to-day decisions that seem to lie outside her formal scope of authority. She seems to be a close friend of Lightfoot's: they speak warmly of each other. She seemed to play an active role in the assignment and re-assignment of special education students.

HOOVER JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The Setting

The Hoover Junior High School is in a section of the city that was in its earliest days considered almost "suburban", since it lay on the perimeter of the rapidly growing city. In its prime, in fact, it was considered a highly desirable neighborhood for the upwardly mobile working class families who traditionally in Philadelphia look northwards when they think of moving from the city. It perhaps was one of the last sections of the city to change in its racial composition; until the late sixties it was still considered an enclave of lower-middle-class Jews.

But now it is home for working-class Black families. While there are small pockets of Hispanics and while the number of Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrants increases, it is overwhelmingly Black in its make-up. There are the usual signs of a neighborhood which has seen better days: some stores on the main shopping thoroughfare are vacant; streets are more often than not strewn with trash that was not picked up; and the ever-present graffiti covers the outside walls of public buildings. But to the observer walking or driving through, it still seems to be a community in which the residents have not given up. Most of the houses seem cared for. The Black churches in the neighborhood are considered strong and active.

Hoover Junior High School has changed significantly, just as its community has changed. Until the early seventies, it was considered one of the "better" junior high schools--a code-word in Philadelphia meaning "mainly white and Jewish". According to the faculty members who taught in the school at that time, the principal was doing a competent job quietly managing the school, patiently waiting until he could retire. Then, in just a few years' time, the school changed from almost entirely white to predominantly Black, and the white principal seemed unable to manage the transition. Discipline became worse, teacher morale suffered, and the confidence of the community in its school rapidly eroded. The principal decided to retire, perhaps at the urging of central administrators, and in 1976, the present principal, Dr. John Pennypacker, was appointed, and as is suggested elsewhere in this report, was instrumental in "turning the school around".

The physical plant is like most of those built in Philadelphia in the twenties--a three-story brick structure, with an imposing main entrance: the two winding staircases that lead from the main doors take the visitor to the centrally located marble corridor that links the main office with the second floor classrooms. While Hoover suffers from the same neglect of all Philadelphia schools, there is clear evidence that some people are working hard at keeping the place clean and functioning. Floors seem well swept; every once in a while, a student is seen pushing a large broom down the corridor. Throughout the school there are displays of student work. Lavatories are clean, and classrooms seem tidier than most rooms in other city schools. The entire physical appearance of the building seems to suggest to visitors that both students and faculty care about it as a place.

And Pennypacker seems to care about it most of all. As he walks through the corridors, he stoops again and again to pick up paper. If a student comes unprepared to gym class, Pennypacker's response is, "Get a broom and sweep."

The pupil data for the nine-year period, 1972-1981, show some interesting trends. First, there has been a 28.3% decline in enrollment. The proportion of Black students has remained relatively constant, around three-fourths of the total. While the percentage of "other (white, obviously) pupils has declined from 15.4% in 1972-73 to 7.3% in 1980-81. the proportion of Hispanic students has increased, to about the same degree. Perhaps the most significant change among the pupils, however, is the percentage of pupils from low-income families. Only slightly more than a third of the total enrollment in 1973-74, the low-income group now constitutes almost two-thirds of the total. During this same period when the proportion of low-income students has just about doubled, achievement scores have improved. In 1973-74, 60% of the Hoover pupils scored below the 16%ile on national norms; by 1980-81, only 34% were scoring in this bottom group, with the number scoring in the 16-49%ile range showing a concomitant increase.

During that same nine-year period, the most dramatic change in the faculty involves their level of experience. In 1972-73, about 16% of the faculty had less than two years' experience; by 1980-81, the proportion had fallen to 6.4%. There was a similar decrease in the teacher-pupil ratio, which declined from 1/20.7 in 1972-73 to 1/16.7 in 1980-81. The ratio of teachers to students present in 1980-81 was 1/12.6, using the

Table 22

Pupil Data, 1972-1981, Hoover Junior High School

Category	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
Average number enrolled	1824	1497	1541	1537	1595	1471	1343	1317	1308
Percentage average daily attendance	79.8	76.9	77.3	81.1	77.7	77.8	74.8	76.0	74.9
Racial composition									
% Black	76.7	70.9	81.5	81.7	83.4	79.0	78.7	76.0	74.9
% Hispanic	7.9	8.4	10.0	11.8	11.9	10.8	15.9	17.5	17.3
% Other	15.4	20.7	8.5	6.5	4.7	10.2	5.4	4.8	7.3
Percentage of pupils from low income families	N/A	35.1	46.9	50.4	53.0	56.3	56.6	63.2	64.1
Percentage of pupils scoring									
85% ile +	No Test Given	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
50-84% ile		7.0	14.0	9.0	10.0	10.0	11.0	11.0	12.0
16-49% ile		32.0	40.0	42.0	45.0	46.0	46.0	49.0	53.0
Below 16		60.0	43.0	48.0	44.0	43.0	42.0	39.0	34.0

Table 23

Faculty Data, 1972-1981, Hoover Junior High School

Category	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
Total full-time staff	118	88	100	110	121	131	121	123	129
Number of instructional staff	88	69	70	75	77	88	72	74	78
Instructional staff/ pupil ratio	1/20.7	1/21.7	1/22.0	1/20.5	1/20.7	1/16.7	1/18.7	1/17.8	1/16.7
Instructional staff with less than 2 years experience	15.9%	18.0%	27.0%	29.0%	17.0%	10.1%	4.1%	5.4%	6.4%
Racial composition									
% Black	N/A	31.4	34.5	32.2	31.9	27.3	32.0	36.4	39.7
% White	N/A	68.6	65.5	67.8	67.0	71.6	66.7	62.3	60.3
% Other	N/A	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.3	0.0
Rate of absence, total staff	18.9	7.94	8.63	8.89	11.51	11.57	12.85	11.16	12.05

74.9 attendance percentage as the reducing factor. The racial composition of the faculty has stayed about the same, approximately two-thirds white and one-third black. (See Table 23.)

The Principal of Hoover: Dr. John Pennypacker

The center of interest here again is the principal, Dr. John Pennypacker. He has been principal at Hoover since 1976, at a time when the school seemed to be in a crisis situation. The general perception is that he "turned the school around", and his success at Hoover, as well as his success in previous administrative positions in the system mark him as one of the system's acknowledged leaders. And he acknowledges his interest in career mobility: at the conclusion of this study, he announced that he had accepted the principalship of a large Philadelphia high school.

Pennypacker's office is in a sense his command center. His desk occupies a central place, turned slightly to face the door leading to the outer office. His desk seems cluttered, but he is able to make sense out of the seeming disorder. Messages that must be answered are stuck on a skewer. Important correspondence lies directly in front of him. Less important papers are piled on the left and the right. Momentoes of his own career accomplishments hang from the walls: photographs with visiting dignitaries, letters of congratulation, and plaques from organizations of which he was an officer. There is a large conference table off to the right as one enters--but it seems to get little use: the action happens in front of his desk. He sits behind the desk, facing two chairs in which visitors sit.

For the most part he carefully controls access to the office. To reach him, a visitor is first greeted by a secretary. And, it might be noted, the secretaries at Hoover seem friendly and accommodating to all visitors. The secretary then checks with Pennypacker to determine if he wishes to see the visitor, who is then escorted in. The other door to the principal's office leads to the vice-principals' offices, and it seems to be used only by the vice-principal or a few others who know they have the privilege. Pennypacker seems to have made it clear that his office is not a corridor or a meeting place for chance encounters.

How does Principal Pennypacker see himself, his school, and his career? The comments he made during several interviews are instructive. (The following statement is a collage made up of his comments to three researchers over a period of several weeks; his own words have been used, only slightly paraphrased and rearranged.)

> I guess in some ways I'm a conservative. I have a lot of old-fashioned ideas. A lot of what the Moral Majority says I can agree with. An example is student rights. We had a real battle over the students' bill of rights--I was opposed to it, for the most part. If kids know it all, then we don't need schools. Kids need some guidance. I'm also too outspoken, I guess. I criticize people who don't do the job. Doing the right thing is not in vogue these days. People don't want to work. Teachers want to leave at three o'clock.
>
> When it comes to differences, I always start out with a win-win policy--let's try to compromise so we both win. But don't force me into a win-win solution--because you'll lose.
>
> I make decisions when they have to be made. An example is how I handled this snack problem. We've always pushed the free breakfast program for our kids. And I've always been concerned about cleanliness in the school and with pupil discipline. It became obvious that the kids were eating too much junk food--weren't getting breakfast and were making a mess in the school. I thought it over a long time. So I decided to institute this new policy--kids could not bring

candy or junk food into school. I told the kids about it before Christmas at one of our special programs. I gave them some advance notice, to let the idea sink in. I did not consult the faculty--but I did inform the building rep. And now I enforce the policy myself. I stand at the school door in the morning and confiscate all the junk food. They can come and get it from me after school if they still want it. I used the same strategy with the "no-coats-in-the-classroom-policy". I thought of the idea as a way of helping us spot intruders. It also made the kids look better. The faculty approved of the idea. When the no-coats policy was announced, I went around to every classroom taking coats away. They can get them from the discipline room after school. I still do that every time I see students wearing coats in the classroom.

But I can delegate authority. My security man has his own office and his own phone. The disciplinarian can suspend without checking with me. I spent a great deal of time working with the disciplinarians so they can handle the problems. Now I spend only about 10% of my time on discipline.

I have some clear-cut ideas on curriculum leadership. I think we need a mandated curriculum. All students should get the same basic program. When I started teaching, there was more structure. Teachers knew what they were expected to teach. Now they have too much choice. The curriculum office should make its mandates clearer, should work more with the principals. They publish curriculum guides--but I have to buy them out of my instructional budget. That's really ridiculous.

I use a supportive type of supervision. I follow Cogan's model. The VP is the instructional supervisor. She does 80% of the observations. If I'm called in to observe, it usually is to do a rating for a teacher who is having problems. I do a lot of informal supervising just by going around the building. You have to have a collegial relationship with teachers. And if you're going to improve instruction, you have to have a plan. Too many principals are just concerned with weeding out the incompetents.

I think our mastery learning project is a good example of how we get things done around here. I learned about it from the Affective Ed office. I asked one of their staff to conduct a workshop for our staff; their director insisted that administrators participate with teachers. I then asked the department heads to get involved, then the teachers. About 10% of the faculty really use it; 20% are excellent teachers who don't need to use it. Fifty percent are general competent, and 20% are marginal. If I met resistance with mastery learning or any idea, I would just keep pushing quietly. I would do a lot of coaxing. One teacher said about me "He would just beat us down."

I think we have an activity-oriented school. I believe it's important to schedule major activities that the kids can look forward to. I plan one big event for each grade: 7th grade has the olympics, 8th grade has career day, and 9th grade has "Hoover on Review". Both students and teachers need something to look forward to; both the anticipation and the closure are important.

It's important to treat kids with respect. If you show them respect, they'll respect you. I learned that on the streets. I call them "sir", "dear", "honey", if I don't know their names. I also listen to what the other kids call them--then I can use their names when I need to. Kids need discipline. And you need signs and symbols to show that you care about discipline. Our marble hall that is closed to student traffic is one such sign. I don't make rules we can't enforce. We try to enforce the rules we can--and don't worry about the rest. The discipline policy is also a crutch for the faculty; now they can, "Dr. Pennypacker wants you to do this". I get in early, usually about 8, and then begin my morning rounds about 8:40. I check things out in the morning--see what's going on. The way you begin the day is the way you end it.

We have a good school here--but we do have some problems. I worry about the drugs in the neighborhood. I want to raise our scores even more. And faculty instability is a real problem. Every year since 1978 half the staff have gotten layoff notices. The strike caused us some real problems. They were the worst two months I've ever had. Four women teachers decided to cross the picket lines; the other teachers harassed them. I was walking a tight-rope. I had to put on combat boots.

If you're Black in America, you're losing. If business goes on as usual, you're not part of the business. If I had three Black administrators, I'd be in trouble--but if there were three white administrators here, there'd be complaints. We organized the Educators Roundtable (an organization of Black administrators) out of self-defense. Under Shedd's administration, there had just been tokenism when it came to promoting Blacks. These ethnic educational groups are a good thing. They ensure that there is an equal distribution of jobs. They don't push unqualified people.

> I'm 46 years old now. I've been teaching for 23 years. I wanted to be a lawyer when I was young. My family pressured me into teaching. My father died when I was still in college, so I knew law school was out of the question. As soon as I began teaching, I knew I had a way with kids. The principal at that school where I started had a big influence on me. He had a marble hall that really puts mine to shame. I've also been a counselor--and part of my success as an administrator is that I counsel people, I don't try to boss them.
>
> I'd like to be a superintendent of schools, but if I end my career at Hoover, that's OK too. I run the ship here. The money is pretty good, and there's not that much difference between our salaries and those downtown. I think I have more influence here. I've seen guys go downtown, get a small office, and be forgotten. Here as the principal, I pretty much can come and go as I want to. I would like a high school principalship. We don't have a flagship school here in Philadelphia, and I'd like to be principal of one. The principal is like the captain on a battlefield. He's visible. Principals have to learn how to manage the contract; the contract can be worked with.
>
> The average age of Philadelphia junior high principals is 45. We're all locked in. There is no upward mobility. There is some movement at the vice-principal level. I tell teachers who want to be administrators that the school get involved in projects in their own building--get things done, use your skills.

Principal Pennypacker's Interactions: the Observational Data

Again, in analyzing the observational data for Principal Pennypacker, the "behavioral event" was used as the basic unit: a bounded interaction between the principal and some other individual in which the focus and the location remain the same. As before, three aspects of the behavioral event were analyzed: the location, where the event took place; the focus, the type of concern or problem dealt with; and the other person involved in the interaction.

As Table 23a indicates, most of Pennypacker's events took place in his office, almost half of the total. But the corridor was also a place of action for Pennypacker: about one-fifth of his behavioral events took place there. About 15% of the events observed took place in the classroom. Thus, like most principals, Pennypacker's action are centered in his office--but the school corridor is also for him a kind of second office, where students are disciplined and encouraged, where teachers are conferred with briefly, and where some minor decisions are made.

Pupil discipline and pupil attendance were the focus of most of his behavioral events; almost half were concerned with this category. (See Table 24.) But teacher supervision was also important in a relative sense, ranking second to pupil discipline and attendance. The importance of the pupils as a focus of Pennypacker's interactions can be seen by summing the percentages represented by these separate pupil categories: pupil discipline and attendance, individual pupil concerns, and pupil activity program and assemblies: those pupil-centered events accounted for almost two-thirds of this principal's total. The curriculum did not seem to occupy an important place in his actions: only one behavioral event in any way seemed directly related to the content of courses or the program of studies.

There are perhaps some surprising findings in the analysis of whom Pennypacker was involved with in the events observed, as Table 25 indicates. Pupils constituted the largest group, slightly more than one-third of the total. Teachers were second most frequent; slightly more than one-fourth of his interactions were with teachers. The vice-principal

Table 23a

Location of Behavioral Events for Principal Pennypacker

Location	Number	Percentage of Total
Principal's office	70	47.0
Corridor	29	19.5
Classroom	22	14.8
Outer office	3	2.0
Other*	25	16.8
Total	149	

*Other number of locations: library, 11; assistant principal, 4; out of building, 4; discipline room, 3; cafeteria, 3.

Table 24

Focus of Behavioral Interactions, Principal Pennypacker

Focus	Number	Percentage of Total
Pupil discipline, pupil attendance	66	44.3
Teacher supervision	25	16.8
Individual pupil concerns (testing, academic progress, schedule, etc.)	16	10.7
Teacher roster, substitute coverage	11	7.4
Pupil activity program, assemblies	10	6.7
Budget, plant, equipment	10	6.7
Non-instructional personnel	7	4.7
Parent, community relations	3	2.0
Curriculum	1	0.7
Special education	0	0.0
Total	149	

Table 25

Person Involved in Behavioral Events,
Principal Pennypacker

Person	Number	Percentage of Total
Pupil	52	34.9
Teacher	42	28.2
Parent	23	15.4
Secretary	13	8.7
Vice-principal	12	8.1
Non-instructional personnel (other than secretary)	5	3.3
Nurse or counselor	1	0.7
Department chairperson	1	0.7
Special education supervisor	0	0.0
Total	149	

and department chairpersons were much less important than might have been expected: less than 10% of the interactions were with this assistant administrator, and only one event observed involved a department chairperson.

In general, then, the observational data when analyzed according to location, focus, and person involved, suggest this picture of Principal Pennypacker:

> He is in his office most of the time, but is frequently in the corridor or the classroom, conferring with teachers or pupils about matters concerning individual pupils.

Principal Pennypacker: As the Teachers See Him

The teacher interviews suggest quite clearly that the teachers in general have positive attitudes about Pennypacker. Of the sixteen teachers interviewed, two were very positive in their comments, and eleven were positive. Two manifested mixed feelings, and only one was generally negative. Most of the positive comments dealt with what we have categorized as "leadership style", those features that identify with the ways he helps the faculty accomplish school goals. Observe the large number of comments that deal with his sense of commitment, his concern, and his working hard. Also five comments noted his availability and visibility. These comments in general suggest that teachers perceive him as a hard-working and committed leader, who plays a very active role in impacting upon the school. The positive comments are summarized in Table 26.

There were also many positive comments that had to do with his relationships with teachers. He is generally perceived by those interviewed as one who motivates teachers, supports them in their efforts, sets high standards for them, and is friendly and respectful. Eleven comments made favorable reference to his student relationships, with most of them dealing with the way in which he improved student discipline. Using the categories previously established, we can also note that only a few, relatively speaking, dealt with his supervisory behaviors and his problem solving processes.

There were appreciably fewer comments that were negative, as Table 27 suggests. Most of the negative comments that were made dealt again with the broad category of "leadership style". Two comments indicated that the teachers interviewed perceived him as manipulative, two saw him as overly ambitious. While there were five negative comments dealing with his teacher relationships, there is no pattern discernible in the comments, suggesting perhaps that they represent particular teacher concerns rather than more general perceptions.

In sum, then, we can say that the sixteen teachers interviewed were in general rather positive when they spoke about their principal. They were most approving of his leadership style, perceiving him as a hard-working committed leader who made a direct impact on the school by being available, visible, and action-oriented. He is seen as a principal who knows how to motivate teachers and is supportive of them. The negative comments, appreciably fewer in number, indicated that a few teachers see him as manipulative and overly ambitious.

The teachers who were interviewed seemed less enthusiastic in their comments about the school in general. Eleven teachers of the sixteen

Table 26

Number of Positive Comments about Principal Pennypacker in Teacher Interviews

Positive Comments	Number of Comments
TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS	
Motivates teachers effectively	5
Supports teachers	4
Sets high standards for teachers	2
Is friendly with teachers	2
Selects personnel well	1
Encourages cooperation	1
Respects teachers	1
SUPERVISORY BEHAVIORS	
Checks on teachers	2
Requires lesson plans	2
Makes good teacher evaluations	1
LEADERSHIP STYLE	
Is committed and concerned	5
Works hard	4
Is available	3
Is visible	2
Is goal oriented	2
Turned things around	1
Is an effective leader	1
Is fair	1
Improved achievement	1
Provided structure	1
Is community oriented	1
Is trust-worthy	1
Is concerned with parents	1
Listens well	1
Delegates authority well	1
Is dynamic	1
PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESSES	
Is open to suggestions	2
Brings out new ideas	2
Initiates new projects	1
STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS	
Improved student discipline	5
Provides good role model for students	2
Offers a student-centered activity program	2
Is well liked and respected by students	2

Table 27

Number of Negative Comments about Principal Pennypacker in Teacher Interviews

Negative Comments	Number of Comments
TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS	
Too easy on teachers	1
Does not praise teachers enough	1
Alienated teachers during strike	1
Can't tolerate criticism from teachers	1
Doesn't consult teachers enough	1
SUPERVISORY BEHAVIORS	
Makes poor comments on lesson plans	1
LEADERSHIP STYLE	
Is manipulative	2
Is too ambitious	2
Plays favorites	1
Is consistent	1
Avoids the tough issues	1
Is not available	1
Does not check enough on building	1
Is not supportive	1
PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESSES	
Is not always responsive to ideas	1
STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS	
Rewards bad behavior	1
Permits students to loiter in halls	1

interviewed made specific reference to their feelings about the school. Six of them were generally positive, two could be characterized as mixed, and three were generally negative. They were, however, much more positive in their comments about their faculty colleagues. Of the twelve who made explicit reference to their colleagues, eight were generally positive and only four expressed mixed feelings. Faculty members were praised for being hard-working, dedicated, and cooperative. Most of the negative comments about other faculty members were expressions that indicated the respondents wanted even more cooperation and sharing.

Other important issues were dealt with in the teacher interviews. Several of the teachers commented about the school's use of mastery learning strategies. Four seemed positive about mastery learning; one expressed mixed feelings; two were negative, and two seemed vague about the concept. The interest of the school in being an "academics plus" center received more mixed reactions. Two of the teachers were sharply critical, commenting that they saw the school's identification as a center of this sort as a "joke". Two were vague about the concept. The teacher interviews, then, might be seen as indicating that the teachers are much less committed to mastery learning and "academics plus" than their principal, for whom these are important ideas. Pennypacker later observed that teachers are often unaware of new programs they are involved in.

The teachers interviewed also made some interesting comments about their perception of the school's instructional leader. Nine indicated that the vice-principal, Andrews, was really the instructional leader.

(Andrews has been absent much of this year because of illness.) Only three identified their principal as the school's instructional leader. Three also identified the reading department chairperson as playing a very active role in instructional leadership. Pennypacker later noted that part of his overall plan was to give the vice-principal a more important role in supervision. "I wanted her to supervise, not to rate--she was to go in in a supportive role."

In reviewing this report Pennypacker observed, "The instructional program was a planned process extending over five years. 'Good teaching is when the teacher's plan becomes the pupils' plan.'"

The teachers' responses to the special questions at the end of the survey questionnaire suggest some important conclusions about faculty perceptions of Pennypacker. They see him as frequently monitoring pupil behavior in cafeteria and halls: more than a third believe that he does this four or more times each day, and a slightly larger number believes it happens two or three times daily. (See Table 28.) They see him less frequently in their classrooms: as Table 29 indicates, almost half reported that they had not been observed at all last year by the principal; note, however, in Table 30, that more than two-thirds of the teachers reported that the vice-principal had observed them two or more times last year. It seems important to note here that only one teacher reported not being observed at all last year by the vice-principal.

Pennypacker's monitoring of teacher instruction more often takes the form of checking on lesson plans. As Table 31 indicates, more than two-thirds of the teachers reporting recalled the principal inspecting

Table 28

Teacher Perception of Principal Pennypacker's Hall Monitoring

Number of Times Daily Principal Monitors Hall, Cafeteria Behavior	Number Responding	Percentage
4 or more	25	38.5
2 or 3	26	40.0
1	7	10.8
0	1	1.5
Uncertain	6	9.2
Total	65	

Table 29

Number of Times Principal Pennypacker Observed Classrooms Last Year

Number of Times Teacher Reports Being Observed Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
More than 3	10	17.0
2	12	20.3
1	8	13.6
0	29	49.2
Total	59	

Table 30

Number of Times Brown Teachers Report Vice-Principal Observed Classroom

Number of Times Teachers Report Being Observed by Vice-Principal Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
More than 3	11	18.3
2	30	50.0
1	18	30.0
0	1	1.7
Total	60	

Table 31

Number of Times Principal Lightfoot Requested Lesson Plans Last Year

Number of Times Lesson Plans Requested Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
10 or more	18	30.0
6 - 9	22	37.7
2 - 5	12	20.0
1	5	8.3
0	3	5.0
Total	60	

lesson plans six or more times last year. These data taken together give us this general picture of administrative monitoring at Hoover: the principal is in the corridors checking on pupil and teacher behavior--and back in his office inspecting lesson plans, planning staff development, and setting the tone and emphasis for the year; the vice-principal is in the classroom observing teaching. While the data suggest a relatively intense degree of administrative monitoring, perhaps they also suggest that the administrator checking lesson plans is not the one observing the classroom--a situation which most experts in supervision would find fault with.

In his review of the report, Pennypacker noted that he believes his concern for supervision goes far beyond the checking of lesson plans. He listed these processes which he indicated he uses: (The list is as he reported it.)

Curriculum
Yearly expectations
Vocabulary/reading/communication
Lesson plans
Informal observation
Formal observation
Formal rating
Staff development
Instructional supervision plan
Emphasis for the term

The teachers in general report that they feel positive about the state of instructional leadership in their schools. Almost two-thirds of those responding feel that their school is either making real gains--or is making some progress. Approximately one of every six teachers responding indicate some negative feelings here. (See Table 32.)

Table 32

Hoover Teachers' Perceptions of Present State of Instructional Leadership

Teacher Perception	Number	Percentage
Making real gains	11	17.2
Making some progress	35	54.7
Don't know	8	12.5
Slipping a little	9	14.1
Losing ground	1	1.6
Total	64	

As Table 33 shows, the faculty feel that school community relations and instructional leadership are the top priorities for Pennypacker; of the five priority areas listed, he seems to care least about business management, according to teacher perceptions.

To summarize, then, the teachers' responses to the final survey questions give this general perception of their principal:

> He is frequently in the corridors and cafeteria, checking on pupil and staff behavior. Although he does not visit classes too often, he does check frequently on lesson plans. He places a high priority on both instructional leadership and school/community relations. And for the most part teachers feel positive about the present state of instructional leadership in their school.

Principal Pennypacker and the Students

Pennypacker seems to have excellent relationships with Hoover students. Of the seven students interviewed, three were very positive in their comments about him, two were positive, and only one was at all negative. These comments from the interviews seem illustrative of their feelings about him: "he's nice", "he's concerned about us", "he wants us to graduate", "he's in the halls a lot", "he's concerned about our health". The one student who was negative saw him as remote, afraid of students, unavailable, and concerned only with the best students in the school.

The two researchers who observed him were both impressed with the manner in which he related to students. He smiled at them, greeted them often by name, congratulated them on their accomplishments. If he saw a student in the corridor getting angry, he would quietly put his arm around the student, guide the student away from the scene of the conflict,

Table 33

Teacher Perceptions of Pennypacker Priorities

Area	Mean Ranking[a]
1. School-community relations	2.1
2. Instructional leadership	2.5
3. School district relations	3.2
4. Student relations	3.2
5. Business Management	3.9

[a] 1 = highest priority; 5 = lowest priority

and speak in quiet, confidential tones about the problem. When he saw girls dallying between classes in the corridors, he would call out, "Let's get to class, ladies." If he saw a student breaking the dress code by wearing a coat in the classroom, he would say, "Sir, I'd like your coat, please. You may pick it up in room 207 after school."

His instituting of the rule about "no snacks" seemed as much a result of his concern for student health as for the school's appearance. He saw a student carrying a bag of candy. "Why do you buy that junk from that man on the streets with the dirty hands? You don't know where those dirty hands have been. That man's dirty hands are all over your candy. You give that bag to me."

And his comments to the researchers suggested that he was genuinely concerned about leading a school where these Black children of the poor could escape the blight of poverty. He often spoke directly and sincerely about his concern for them--for helping them learn how to read and compute, for guiding them into useful careers, for protecting them from the crime and violence that surrounded the school.

In a sense he was more concerned with the whole student population than he was with individual students. He seemed to have a vision about what the school could be for all the pupils--and instituted and enforced rules that he thought would accomplish that vision. He did not seem to be chiefly concerned with how one individual pupil was doing--but with how the entire "family" was making out.

Principal Pennypacker as an Instructional Leader

What can be said about the central issue of Pennypacker as an instructional leader? The answer is a complex one and perhaps can best be teased out by examining several different sorts of data.

To begin with, his own statements suggest some ambiguity on his part. On the one hand, his public statements make direct reference to the importance of instruction and the centrality of instructional leadership. Here, for example, is a statement he wrote for an issue of the school's newspaper:

> The ultimate purpose of public secondary schools and school systems in America is to provide educational opportunities to satisfy both the common and the unique needs of the individual pupil. Public secondary schools are responsible for delivering a quality education to all youth. To accomplish this mission, Hoover Junior High makes an effort to diagnose each pupil's needs, concerns, and cognitive and affective styles to design effective learning programs. The educational philosophy of the Hoover family embraces Academic Plus and Mastery Learning via caring, sharing, and supporting.

Also, his "faculty notices" frequently include extended discussions of learning principles, especially those of mastery learning. As an example, the faculty notices for February 16, 1982, included a two-page discussion of mastery learning. And an "exemplary school project proposal" which he wrote includes some very specific long-range instructional goals. Here, for example, is one such goal from the proposal:

> To increase by 15% the number of pupils on the honor roll for academic achievement as compared to the percentage of pupils on the honor roll at the end of the 1980-81 school year.

On the other hand, there are some indications that he does not perceive the supervision of instruction as his primary responsibility; it is the responsibility instead of the vice-principal. Notice, for example, the organization chart shown on the attached page. The vice-principal is clearly designated as being mainly responsible for "supervision of instruction". Another interesting point which can be observed in the chart is that, although the other vice-principal is in charge of "management and administration", Pennypacker has listed for himself several management responsibilities: school accounts, school business management, and secretarial services. He later commented, "Instruction is my primary responsibility, even though I delegate part of it."

The other interesting facet about his public statements is that they are cogent when it comes to articulating goals but less persuasive when it comes to specifying methodological strategies. For example, when asked by the interviewer about his concept of curriculum leadership, he limited himself to statements about the importance of curricular mandates and the weakness of the central office in providing such mandates. His project proposal, while clear about the goals, is less clear about how those goals will be achieved. It says, in essence, we will be an Academics Plus school using mastery learning.

The teachers' responses seem to reflect some of that same ambiguity which Pennypacker projects. On the one hand the teachers interviewed commented very favorably about his leadership in general. And all the teachers surveyed indicated that they believed that instructional

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

CHART OF ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES
September, 1978

PRINCIPAL

Vice Principal Management & Administration

- School Organization
- Pupil Records
- Facility (M. & O.)
- Supplies & Requisitions
- I.M.C.
- Audio-Visual Aids
- Pupil Services
  - Tokens (free & sold)
  - Lunch Program
  - Lockers
- Imprest Funds
- Class Trips
- Security & Fire Drills
- Supportive Services
  - Counseling
  - Medical Services
  - Psychological Services
  - Substitute Services
  - Speech Therapy
  - N.T.A. Services
  - Career Education
  - P.R.I.M.E.
  - P.R.I.D.E.
  - Community Mental Health

PRINCIPAL

- Building Committee
- Secretarial Services
- School Accounts
- School Business Management
- School Publications
- Public/Community Relations
- Student Government
- Cooke Athletic Assoc.
- Grade Level Organization
- ACTION Program
- Home & School Assoc.
- School Community Coordinator
- School Attendance Teams
- School Promotion Review Teams

Vice Principal Supervision of Instruction

- Art
- Business
- English
- E.S.O.L.
- Foreign Language
- Home Economics
- Industrial Arts
- Mathematics
- Music
- Physical Education
- Reading (Language Arts)
- Science
- Social Studies
- Special Education
- New Teacher Orientation
- Lesson Plans
- Teachers' Observations
- In-Service Training
- Staff Development
- Discipline Committee

leadership was one of his two top priorities.

On the other hand there are some indications that teachers are uncertain about his instructional leadership. Observe that those interviewed, even while praising his leadership, made few specific references to his skills as a supervisor. The teachers' comments to the last open-ended question on the survey instrument ("What additional comments can you make that will further describe how instructional leadership tasks are performed in your school?") are also illuminating here. Twenty teachers took the time to respond to the question. Table 34 summarizes their responses. Note that 15 of their comments were critical of the principal, with several criticizing what they saw as specific weaknesses. Only 4 of the favorable comments made direct reference to the principal, while 3 made specific reference to the absent vice-principal. And it might also be stressed here again that teachers report that he frequently checked lesson plans--but did not frequently supervise them in their classrooms. (In his review Pennypacker questioned the appropriateness of this last question.)

The observation of his behavior showed some of the same ambiguity. Teacher supervision was second highest in frequency as a focus of the behavioral interactions--but they accounted for only 16.5% of his interactions. And as is noted elsewhere, his classroom observations are often of brief duration. In fact, his behavior suggests that he believes he can provide instructional leadership by providing an environment for teachers that is clean and orderly, rather than trying to impact directly through the direct supervision of teachers or through the improvement of

Table 34

Hoover Teacher Responses to "Additional Comments" Question

Category of Comment	Number
CRITICAL OF PRINCIPAL	
Should pay more attention to improving instruction	3
Gives too much responsibility to teachers	2
Should give more attention to discipline	2
Should provide a better teaching schedule	2
Is too critical of our curriculum	1
Is too authoritarian	1
Permits too many classroom interruptions	1
Should share instructional leadership more	1
Does not consult teachers enough	1
Over emphasizes public relations	1
CRITICAL OF CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION	
Central administration does not provide enough texts	2
Central administration encourages social promotion	1
School board is unprofessional	1
FAVORABLE ABOUT PRINCIPAL AND OTHERS	
Principal tries to improve instruction	2
Principal places an emphasis on instruction	2
The vice-principal has been absent	2
The vice-principal is really in charge	1
Teachers confer with each other	1
Students seem to be improving	1
Instructional leadership is decentralized	1
Mastery learning staff development was very helpful	1

the curriculum. (In his review Pennypacker stresses this point again: "If you don't have an environment conducive to teaching, you are not going to have good instruction.")

Perhaps we can best understand his approach to instructional leadership--and to leadership in general--if we examine the mastery learning project. A few years ago he learned about mastery learning from the school district's Affective Education program. He invited a trainer from that office to conduct staff development with his faculty, participating himself as was required. He then required every teacher to write a mastery learning unit. He conducted a workshop himself for the faculty, offering to teach in their classrooms any concept they chose--and to teach that concept using mastery learning principles. He made several public announcements about the school's commitment to mastery learning. He reminded faculty again and again of the strategies and uses of mastery learning. All of this had been accomplished with almost no teacher input into the decision or in the implementation strategies.

Pennypacker made this observation in his review of this section: "You don't have time for indecision. Planning time is at a premium."

Then he began to encounter some teacher resistance. The district superintendent had learned from him about his school's involvement with mastery learning and wondered if she might hold a training session at Hoover for other principals--so that they could see mastery learning in operation. When he announced this to the faculty, he found some strong objection to the idea. He backed off a bit, indicating to the district superintendent that a visit would probably not be appropriate at that time. But he indicated to the researcher that he would continue pressing and pushing, quietly put persistently.

His approach to "Academics Plus" is also interesting. "Academics Plus" is a label for Philadelphia schools who openly espouse a "back-to-basics" philosophy. As originally conceived, the label would be used to identify a school that was totally committed to these six practices:

1. An emphasis on basic skills
2. A strict discipline code
3. Regular required homework
4. A required dress code
5. Promotion through the demonstration of competence
6. Frequent pupil progress reports

The notion was that an "academics plus" school would be one quite different from all the rest--and that the faculty would be completely committed to the plan--and that parents as well would be involved and committed.

As far as can be determined, Pennypacker decided a few years ago--seemingly without much faculty or parent input--that Hoover would be an "academics plus" school. A dress code and a discipline code were developed. Teachers were reminded of the importance of basic skills, of the need to give homework, and of the importance of regular communication with the home. But the program seems not to have made much of an impact. The pupils who were interviewed seemed completely unaware of the concept. The parents at the "Principal's Advisory Committee" meeting seemed surprised to learn that the school was part of the program. And teachers likewise seemed vague and uninformed about the concept.

It should be noted here that Pennypacker believes these perceptions of the researchers are erroneous. "The Academics Plus idea was an outgrowth of a program in process over several years! It was an evolutionary program, involving a dress code, a discipline code, a promotion policy, and an emphasis on homework."

Perhaps then we can reach these tentative conclusions about Pennypacker's approach to instructional leadership:

1. He believes in the power of slogans and symbols and astutely uses them to energize the faculty. He does an excellent job of articulating basic principles and long-term goals.

2. He is concerned with creating first an environment. He tries hard to create a "family" atmosphere for pupils and teachers. He devotes much effort to making the building safe and clean.

3. He enthusiastically embraces new ideas that are consonant with his own philosophy, which he perhaps accurately characterizes as "conservative". He commits the school to a new program of this sort, provides the faculty with training, and keeps low-key but consistent pressure on the faculty to embrace the idea.

4. He turns over instructional supervision to a trusted vice-principal; when she becomes ill and is absent for a prolonged period of time, he supervises and checks lesson plans--but does so perhaps reluctantly.

One important note about Pennypacker's leadership is his ability to work with the teachers' union in achieving his professional goals. The conventional wisdom among most Philadelphia school administrators is that good principals can't do the job they want to do because the union contract ties their hands. Pennypacker doesn't believe that conventional wisdom. "You can work with the contract," he said to the researcher. His viewpoint was supported by a union leader--who seemed very anxious that he/she not be identified in any way. This leader at one point had been at Hoover while Pennypacker was principal. He/she had this to say:

> Pennypacker worked with the teachers, not against them like most principals. He tried to share authority--but always within the bounds of the contract. And he turned the place around because the teachers were willing to work with him. In any school it's the principal who makes a difference. The union contract does not have to stand in the way. I want the contract observed, because it protects us teachers against unreasonable administrators--but I'm willing to work with any principal who has good educational ideas and who will make teachers feel they are part of the decision-making process.

His handling of a meeting with the building representatives indicated to the observer that he was willing to listen to teacher complaints--but was not ready to give away his authority. He was clearly in charge of the meeting--but the representatives felt free to air their complaints. At one point the teachers made it clear that they would like to have a faculty meeting in which teachers could air their problems and get direct answers from the principal in a face-to-face discussion.

Pennypacker's response was very direct. "All the problems are covered by our discipline handbook--and can be dealt with if teachers just decide to take those policies seriously. There is no need for one more gripe session. All teachers have to do is read the manual. If they want questions answered, they can write out their questions in advance. Then I'll answer them." After some further discussion about the handbook and weak teachers, the representatives agreed to do things the principal's way.

Principal Pennypacker seems to be somewhat ambiguous in his approach to teacher supervision. His comments in the interviews seem to suggest that he considers supervision important and knows contemporary theories of supervision. He commented to the researcher, "I follow Cogan's model of teacher supervision." Yet his actual behavior suggests otherwise.

Although "teacher supervision" was second highest in the focus of his behavioral events, accounting for 16.5% of his interactions, most of these supervisory visits were of rather brief duration and did not follow the Cogan model of clinical supervision. The researcher's notes from one extended period of observation might make this point more forcefully:

> 10:40. We visit a language arts class. There are twenty-five pupils in the room. Most seem to be working quietly. They are writing answers to questions on the board. The questions deal with such matters as the name of the author, the title, where author and title can be found in the book, and what takes place in the story. The pupils seem to be on task--but the work seems dull and uninteresting. I borrow a book from one of the pupils: it is a reader especially prepared for less able pupils. It seems to contain material that would make for excellent discussion. Pennypacker is observing intently, making a few notes on an observation form, and from time to time checking pupil work. As the period draws to a close, the teacher--without explanation--interrupts the reading lesson to pass out a map. The map seems to be the basis of that night's homework. But the teacher makes a very confusing explanation of what is to be done. The lesson as a whole seems disappointing, disorganized, and without much real learning having taken place.
>
> Later that morning Pennypacker and I talk about the observation. He explains that he will give the teacher a written report on the observation, with a note indicating that conference can be requested. He says that most don't request conferences. He notes that he had chosen to observe this particular teacher because she was new. He showed me the observation report on the lesson we had observed. It's really an evaluation form, not conducive to giving objective feedback. He has checked the following as "acceptable": room is neat, enthusiastic, appropriate variety. He has checked as "excellent" the teacher's discipline and knowledge of subject matter. Everything else on the checklist is evaluated as "good". He comments to me that he considered it a good class because the discipline was good--it's a very difficult class, he explains.

In reviewing the first draft of this report, Pennypacker clarified this seeming disparity between theory and practice. He noted that he accepts the general principles behind Cogan's approach to supervision but does not believe that the model can be implemented in its complete form, since time and money are not available for implementing the model as Cogan believes it should be used. Pennypacker has developed his own approach which he calls "supportive supervision", which he views as more reinforcing and more diversified.

His approach to the checking of lesson plans reflects some of the same ambiguities about theory and practice. In the absence of the vice-principal who is primarily responsible for checking lesson plans, he has assumed this task and carries it out religiously. Teachers are expected to submit plan books, according to a schedule based upon departmental assignment--and Pennypacker reminds those who have not submitted them that they must get them in. "You cannot have directed teaching without planning", he observed. And he has reminded teachers again and again about the importance of applying mastery learning principles to the planning and delivery of instruction.

Yet his checking of the plans seems to be more of an administrative routine than an exercise in constructive supervision. He stamps with a happy face the plans he approves of. When he raises questions about the plans, they often seem to be of a superficial nature: "Have you ever tried to teach a specific unit plan?" As he sits at his desk with a pile of plan books in front of him, stamping happy faces and writing brief questions, he seems like a teacher trying to get through a pile of homework assignments. It seems likely that his checking of the plans on a regular basis has a positive effect by reminding teachers that he cares about planning and he checks up on performance--but one doubts that teachers learn anything about instructional planning through his ritual of submitting written plans. (He later noted that most teachers already know how to plan effectively.)

The teachers' responses to the final questions in the survey form tend to bear out these impressions. Almost half the teachers reported that they were not observed at all last year by the principal--but more than two-thirds of those responding indicated that he had asked to see their lesson plans at least six times during the year.

In his comments to the researchers and in his rendering of the school's organizational relationships, Pennypacker has made it very clear that teacher supervision is the responsibility of the vice-principal who has been ill for so much of this year. This fact and the data referred to above suggest to the researchers that Pennypacker really doesn't like to supervise--and has only a superficial knowledge of clinical supervision--but does his best to carry out the task since he knows it must be done.

These statements might best describe teacher supervision as it is carried out by Pennypacker:

1. Supervision is differentially provided; new teachers and teachers who seem to be having problems are supervised closely--others receive little direct supervision.
2. There is never a pre-observation conference. Most visits, in fact, are unannounced and unexpected. His review of lesson plans takes the place of the conference.

3. The observation more often lasts a short period of time.
4. The principal's observations tend to be evaluative in nature, concerned with rating rather than with giving objective feedback. The vice-principal's observations are supervisory in nature.
5. The principal spends little time analyzing the observation; the focus tends to be on teacher-pupil interaction.
6. An evaluation checklist is completed and sent to the teacher; there is not post-observation conference unless one is requested--and such a conference is rarely requested by the teacher.

This additional information is probably useful in rounding out the picture of Pennypacker's approach to instructional leadership. After the report had been submitted to him for his review, Pennypacker sent to one of the researchers a rather comprehensive report he and two colleagues had developed as part of their doctoral work at Nova University. They had developed a "transportable treatment model for retained eighth grade students", which used staff development, smaller classes, a new comprehensive reading program, self-concept counseling, and team teaching to improve the self-concept and academic performance of retained students. Their assessments indicated that the model was successful in improving reading achievement, self-image, and attendance of the target population.

Pennypacker's Problem Solving Processes

Those who espouse a creative problem-solving process in dealing with school problems would probably find much to criticize in Pennypacker's approaches to solving problems. In the researchers' perspective, he doesn't seem to do much systematic data gathering when he senses vaguely that something is wrong; he is more likely to mull the problem over in his head, rather than looking for statistical evidence. (Pennypacker disagrees strongly with this perception, noting that he used more data--gathering in the previous year--and now has the data he needs.) He rarely seemed to get any group input into problem identification or solution generation. Most of the meetings he held during the period when he was observed were regularly scheduled parent and faculty meetings at which complaints were aired. He often did not seem interested in responding to problems that others identified, choosing instead to move the discussion back to his own agenda: the building representatives wanted an open faculty discussion of discipline; he wanted faculty to read the handbook--and to support him in his attempts to cut down on pupils' eating of snacks. The solutions he generated for improving the school could hardly be termed innovative: improve discipline, implement a dress code, use mastery learning.

And yet on a day-to-day basis he seemed to be able to solve--or amerliorate--the pressing problems in his own intuitive and direct way. Two cases perhaps illustrate this.

The first case involved the potentially explosive situation of a non-teaching assistant who was suspected of selling marijuana to pupils in the school. The problem first surfaced when he was conferring with a parent about a pupil having discipline problems. The parent finally exploded: "You're fussing about minor problems--and not paying attention to drug dealing and sexual harassment in the school." Pennypacker quietly listened, without over-reacting or getting defensive. He noted all the allegations the parent made and assured the parent that an investigation would begin.

He then proceeded to question some of the girls who had been implicated. He elicited from them the information he needed, all the while playing down the importance of the matter and not discussing it with faculty. He then learned that some of the girls who had talked with him were being harassed by the non-teaching assistant charged with selling drugs. He then informed his district superintendent of the investigation, indicating that he had it well under control. He checked with the school district's labor relations representative about the procedures to use in suspending NTA's under such conditions. He followed the guidelines in suspending the suspected employee. He kept the local police captain informed and requested his help in discovering how widespread the problem was. And he kept careful records of everything he had done. At the time of the researcher's last visit to the school, the problem had not been completely resolved, but there was a clear sense that it would be. Throughout this entire crisis, he remained calm, followed procedures, followed his hunches, and seemed to be able to defuse a potentially explosive situation.

The second case is the problem of pupil snacks, previously alluded to. Several months ago he became concerned about the problem. Pupils were not eating breakfast at home, were not eating the breakfast provided by the school, but were buying candy and other snacks from street vendors on the way to school. They would then eat the snacks at school during the day, making a mess with the snacks and wrappers. He was concerned about their nutrition--and their making his school dirty. He decided to take action: no snacks would be allowed. He informed the building representative. He warned the students at an assembly that the new policy would go into effect after the holidays. And he implemented the policy himself. He would station himself at the school door in the morning. If he saw a pupil bringing snacks into the school, he would politely say, "Sir, I'd like your bag of potato chips. You know we have a new policy. You may get your chips from my office after school today. Does your mother know you're wasting your money on that junk?"

His approach to problem solving might be described then in this fashion:

1. He has a vision of what the school can be.
2. He is very sensitive to any developments that suggest that vision is imperiled. He stays on top of problems by being highly visible and in close contact with pupils and teachers.
3. He mulls over major problems and worries about them until he senses it is time to act.
4. He relies upon his intuitive judgment to guide him; he sees himself as "street smart".
5. He involves the faculty only to the extent that he thinks they should be involved.
6. He takes direct action: he takes the coats from coat-wearers; he confiscates the snacks from snack-eaters.

Pennypacker: the Developmental History and the Basic Style

His career path says a great deal about what he is as a person. He began as a classroom teacher in Philadelphia, after realizing that family circumstances would not permit him to fulfill his original ambition to become a lawyer. He seems to have been a very effective teacher, came under the influence of an excellent Black principal, and decided that he would not remain a teacher. He took graduate work as a counselor and served as a guidance counselor for a short period of time. He then served a stint as a junior high school vice-principal. During the late sixties when there was a great deal of racial tension in the schools, he was selected as a field agent working in the Office of Community Affairs, conducting training sessions for principals and working with community organizations. By this time he already seems to have acquired a reputation in the district as one of the leading Black administrators, one marked for greater things.

He came to Hoover in 1976, at a time when the school was experiencing several different kinds of stress. A weak principal had just left. The community was changing in its complexion. Teacher morale was low, and discipline was poor. Immediately upon arrival, Pennypacker announced that things would be different: the building would be clean; there would be good discipline; there would be a strong emphasis on the basics; and there would be a family spirit, where all worked together for the common good.

A faculty hungry for leadership seemed to respond eagerly to his very direct style. They coalesced behind him and worked together to enforce the rules which he had made. He treated them with respect, gave them a sense of pride, and created a new image of the school in the community. He knew he had accomplished his first goal--of creating a better environment--but he also knew that the school had not made the great progress in pupil achievement that he hoped it would. He saw that as the second phase of his overall plan.

But he made it clear to his superiors and his colleagues that he was still upwardly mobile in a professional sense. He became very active in the junior high principals group. He took a leadership position in an organization of Black school administrators. He played an active role in several community organizations. And he talked candidly to the researchers about his ambitions of being a high school principal or a superintendent.

And then a few months after this study had been formally concluded it was announced that he had been appointed principal of one of the large high schools in the city.

It would be unfair to say that his professional ambitions alone drove him in his pursuit of excellence at Hoover. There were several indications that he was sincerely motivated by a genuine concern for Black pupils especially; part of the reason he drove himself so hard was to make life better for them. He himself noted to one of the researchers that his interest in career mobility was motivated by a desire to make an impact on the largest possible number of pupils.

Pennypacker's basic orientation to his job seems to be a paternalistic one--and that term is not used here as a pejorative. In many ways he acts like a father with his students. He worries about their diet. He nags about their appearance. He reminds them of the importance of studying hard. He listens patiently to their problems and disciplines them with a firm but not unkind hand. In some ways he seems to see these pupils as children, not as young adolescents: they need to be told what to do. As he notes in the interview, he was opposed to the student bill of rights that was passed by the school board in the late sixties--and that opposition stemmed from his belief that these children needed firm direction and control, not a bill of rights. Yet with all this firmness and desire to control, there is a genuine basic respect in his attitudes towards all the pupils that seems genuine and sincere. To them he is the caring but demanding father: notice in the student interviews (see page) how often the terms "caring" and concerned" are used by the students in talking about him.

His fatherly concern for the appearance of the pupils can be best illustrated by the dress code he developed and promulgated. Here, for example, are the items of clothing proscribed for boys:

II, Prohibited Dress (NO!)

A. Shirts without sleeves, undershirts, sweaters worn as substitutes for shirts, gym sweat shirts or unbuttoned shirts.

B. Soiled or dirty dungarees, slacks, khakis, trousers, and homemade Bermuda shorts.

C. Flip flops or bare feet.

D. Plaited hair, toothpicks or matchsticks in the mouth or tucked on the ear or unbuckled belts.

E. Hats, caps, or outdoor coats or jackets in the classroom.

(From the Hoover Pupil Dress Code)

He seems even slightly paternalistic towards the faculty. The metaphor he uses most often in talking about the school and its personnel is "the Hoover family"--and he usually adds the familial descriptors "caring and sharing with each other". And it was noted in reviewing the transcripts of the teacher interviews that even the two teachers who mocked the rhetoric talked about their colleagues in terms that suggested that they too were concerned with the "family" aspects of their relationships. As he notes in his own remarks to the interviewers, he most often makes a major decision (like the no-snack and the no-coats decision) somewhat unilaterally--and then tells the faculty what he has decided. Observe that two of the sixteen teachers interviewed characterized him as "manipulative", suggesting that some at least view his paternalistic direction in negative terms.

The complete text (except for identifying information which has been deleted) of a typical set of "Faculty Notices" is included in the following pages to illustrate some of Pennypacker's approaches to his staff. The notices usually begin with a quotation, often of an inspirational sort. Then Pennypacker continues by congratulating the "family" who are "true professionals". The "informational" section includes notices about two members of the "family", one who is ill and one who is retiring--and five recommended readings. The first "administrative/professional" note is a scolding about the anti-social behavior of a few members of the "family"--its tone sharply in contrast to that of the opening commendation. The notices then continue with a reminder about keeping the school clean. Several routine announcements follow, and then towards the end of the notices is one other that has the tone of a stern chiding: get the rules straight, it seems to say--and follow them.

Inspiring quotations, commendations for the good members of the family, personal notes about family members who are ill or are retiring, scolding

Junior High School
Street
Philadelphia, PA

Principal — Vice Principals

Faculty Notices
December 1, 1981

> "Some people confuse principles with rules. A principle is inside one; a rule is an outward restrictor: to obey a principle you have to use your mental and moral powers; to obey a rule you have only to do what the rule says."

I would like to thank the members of the " Family" who have shown they have principles and are true professionals. The life, programs and activities of the school are functioning because they care and are willing to share of themselves to have a good school. Our instructional program is progressing positively, extra curricular activities are in high gear, educational trips are under consideration, and plans are in progress for a holiday show. I like to see everyone contributing to the success of the school. You can do it. You will find you will be happiest, and this school will be a better place to work when you make a positive contribution.

I. Informational

A. Get well wishes: Barbara is home sick. She would appreciate your cards.

B. Lillian retirement from her position as noon-time aide after 17 years of service here at Jr. High. We wish her a long life and happiness.

C. School District opportunity:

1. Child Care Center Teacher (12 months)... App. deadline 12/18.
2. Teacher-Coordinator... CLEC Program, High School... application deadline 12/9/81.

D. Recommended readings:

1. Pennsylvania Education
2. Education Week
3. Resources for Youth
4. Citizen's Business
5. Oakes' Newsletter

II. Administrative/Professional

A. Anti-Social Behavior: Regretfully, I have to remind the entire staff that because of anti-social behavior of a few, that defacing or destroying school/personal property shall incur the full force of administrative and legal action. I recognize people's feeings, but will not tolerate anti-social behavior. We are all professional and expect professional behavior.

Faculty Notices December 1, 1981

B. The Learning Environment: The school's general appearance and individual classroom appearance contributes to the learning environment. Currently decorated and clean rooms, along with good classroom management, enhances learning. I would like to extend my congratulations to the teachers who were recognized by Ms. , Vice Principal, in the Nov. 30, 1981 Dailygram.

C. Instruction: Your administrators are generally pleased with the level of instruction they have observed thus far this school year. Please remember and do the following, and you will have continued success:

1. Be persistent and consistent.
2. Plan your lessons each week and review plans daily.
3. Give, collect and mark homework.
4. Give a quiz at least once a week.
5. Give special assignments or reports to individuals or the class.
6. Give a major test every 10 school days.
7. Give pupils opportunities to improve their grades.

D. The Advisory Period: All staff members, especially advisors, are to review Ms. memo of Nov. 25, 1981 concerning the advisory/homeroom period.

E. Fire Drill: Last week's fire drill was satisfactory for our first fire drill of the school year. We will have an unannounced fire drill this week. Please review the directions from your classrooms. Remember:

1. Have pupils stop talking and ready to listen and follow directions,
2. line up pupils,
3. tell pupils which stairs they are to use,
4. have sections move only the distance you can supervise,
5. sections that exit to the sides of the building should go across the street,
6. wait for signal to return to the building.

F. Student Council Elections: The nominating speeches and elections will take place next week. Special instructions and a schedule for assembly programs and elections will be given out later. Please encourage good students to run for school office. Our school officers represent our school, and we want the best.

G. Communication: There are several important communique organs that are must reading for the entire staff. Ignorance of information or content is no excuse for performing duties or responsibilities once published in official school organs:

1. Dailygram....READ EVERYDAY!
2. Faculty Notices....read and keep for future reference.
3. Building Committee Meeting Minutes.
4. Special memos.

H. Class trips:

1. Please review trip procedures.
2. Obtain trip request form from Mrs.   in the office.
3. Complete request form and return to the Roster Room.
4. Final approval for all trips will be given by   .
5. You must give three weeks notice for all trips.

I. Instructional Leadership Survey: This is a research project conducted by the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Dr. Glatthorn and Dr. Newberg. You will help evaluate the administration's performance as it relates to instructional leadership.

for those who have not been good, recommendations about professional reading, a reminder about the importance of keeping the "home" clean, and a stern reminder to know and follow the rules--the notices, it seems to us, are the words of a caring and concerned father.

And his relationships with parents and community members seem to have that same paternalistic flavor. His meeting with the "Principal's Advisory Committee" on January 18, 1982, is perhaps illustrative of this basic approach. Prior to the meeting with this group of community representatives, he made this comment to the researcher: "My hidden agenda with this group is just to get them into the school--so they can see we have a good school." The meeting was ostensibly chaired by the home and school coordinator--but two minutes after the meeting began, Pennypacker took over and remained in charge until the end of the meeting. His style here in this meeting is to announce the topic under discussion, make an extended statement about his position on the topic, ask for questions, briefly acknowledge any response from those in attendance, and then pass on to the next subject. The researcher observing the meeting had the impression that Pennypacker wasn't really listening to members' suggestions or concerns but seemed concerned only with his own agenda.

At one point towards the end of the meeting, this exchange occurred. Pennypacker had been talking about some serious community problems involving drug pushing and harassment of the pupils. He said to the group, "Let me ask you for advice. If the superintendent offered to send an undercover agent into the school (to identify drug pushers), would it be a good idea?" All the members who spoke agreed that it might be a good idea. Then Pennypacker continued: "Well, the superintendent has offered to do just that--and I have agreed. I just wanted to get your opinion."

The entire meeting seemed to provide an occasion for Pennypacker to inform the group about what he was doing, to impress them with the accomplishments of the school, and to indicate that he was on top of problems. Even on the occasions when members asked what they could do to help, Pennypacker seemed to make only a half-hearted response which suggested to the observer that the help really wasn't desired. The researcher's notes concluded with this observation: "An excellent job of show-and-tell."

The Leadership Structure at Hoover Junior High School

The formal leadership structure at Hoover is obviously similar to that at Brown: a principal, two vice-principals, department chairpersons. And the informal structure has some surprising similarities: a strong principal, a key vice-principal, and a small number of influential department chairpersons. In this instance, the key vice-principal is a woman, one who has been absent for a prolonged period of time because of illness. During the course of this study she was in attendance only for a few days and was unavailable for interviews. But her influence is still strongly felt. Teachers speak of her with admiration--even with a bit of awe at times. And the principal acknowledges that he very much misses her. In her absence he has tried to take over the supervisory functions that she performed so well. Those who spoke about her convey this picture of her: a very strong person, quite direct in style, who supervised closely and kept teachers on their toes.

The other vice-principal seems to play a much less active role, even in the absence of the aforementioned colleague. He described his duties as primarily administrative: "I'm in charge of maintenance, repair, equipment, and requisitions." He has been at the school for fourteen years and seems to have the respect of the faculty as a conscientious administrator who takes care of the "nuts and bolts" of the school's operations.

Again there seem to be a few key department chairpersons who have chosen to exercise influence beyond the scope of their formal authority. The principal and several of the teachers interviewed see the reading chairperson as playing a key role in instructional improvement. And the chairperson of the industrial arts department was so well regarded by the principal and his colleagues that he was appointed as an acting vice-principal when it seemed uncertain whether the vice-principal who was ill would be able to return to the job. The principal indicated to the researcher, "When I announced his appointment as an acting vice-principal, the rest of the faculty applauded." He is seen as a dynamic and concerned teacher, who is well liked by the students and much respected by his colleagues.

Lynnwood Junior High School

Description of the Community

Lynnwood is located in a semi-industrial section of a large northeastern city. Approaching the school's community from the west moving east on one of the city's main arteries, you notice a large factory employing several thousand workers, a ball bearing works, and a major bakery. Private homes are hedged in by some of the larger industrial plants. On most street corners small businesses provide food, entertainment, appliance and automotive repairs and services for neighborhood residents and transients. Two blocks east of the school is a meandering street cutting the city on a bias which houses a concentration of small and middle sized businesses. These businesses flourish and decline rapidly, leaving shells of a more prosperous time plainly evident.

The housing pattern in this area reflects the income levels of its residents. Several streets, including the block that butts perpendicular to the southside of the school, are neat, clean and well kept. These row houses are freshly painted or renovated with aluminum siding. Flower boxes and small gardens give one street near the school a pleasant, comfortable atmosphere. Town watch signs warn neighbors to be on guard for each others property and personal safety. Other streets are more scarred showing evidence of neglect and poverty. This is a working-class blue collar community. Some residents who are employed own homes and cars. Others less fortunate have few or none of those resources.

Most of the residents finished high school; approximately one-third did not. Some of these drop outs completed their education in G.E.D.

programs. A few parents finished one or two years of college. Most of the parents we interviewed believed that education is important: "It can lead to a better job, to an easier life."

In those households with two parents it is common for both to work. The principal of the school couldn't offer a reliable statistic, but she sensed that many of the households were headed by single parents. A department chair at Lynnwood recently asked 31 students from a "top section" if they lived with one or two parents. A few children stated they lived with both parents. Parental involvement in the school is limited by their day time work obligations. While individual parents do come to school when called to discuss their child's behavior or academic progress, most cannot afford to take the time. Lynnwood like Polisher Junior High has found out that large numbers of parents will come to school if the principal makes it a requirement for the release of their children's report cards. Report card distribution days also become a day parents can use to visit teachers and get acquainted with the school's goals and programs. Among the parents we interviewed opinions ranged about the school: "It's as good a school as any in the system" to "If I could I'd send him to a private school."

General Characteristics of the School

Lynnwood built in 1927 looks like many of the junior high schools constructed in the twenties. (Polisher, a short ten minute drive southwest of Lynnwood is almost a reproduction.) A well established story in the school district states that the business manager during that era did not believe in individualizing school architecture.

Supposedly he had drawn one master plan for each level of school organization and hired builders to replicate the model throughout the city.

Lynnwood is a large four story building reflecting a 1920's version of moorish/crusader architecture. On the exterior face sets of rectangular windows are framed by ornamental Gothic arches. Walking up the steps into the reception hall we see a low slung arch that connects two stairwells leading to the second floor trophy display cases. Stepping off the second floor marble hall we see the more ordinary cement floors that run throughout the building.

The elegant front is deceptive. Lynnwood is a decrepit building. The walls are devoid of graffiti. Allan Simmons, the principal prior to its current head, cleaned the walls and floors and established a code of respect for property. While some of the building's disrepair can be blamed on students, most of its problems are functions of age and neglect. Rain comes through a leaky roof on the fourth floor classrooms, cracking plaster and warping floors. The warped floors let the water run through to the third floor and so it goes down through the building. The Board of Education cannot afford to repair the roof. When it rains, several classes move into the cafeteria for instruction. The damage is unsightly, and on rainy days it is demoralizing. The elevators are frequently out of order, adding aggravation to the several asthmatic students who climb the stairs instead. Hand rails are missing in the stairwells. Interior window panes are seldom replaced. The system has two glaziers for the city's schools. The faculty, students, and administration make the best use they can of an inefficient neglected physical plant.

The school was built to hold 1569 students (see Table 35, p.148). In 1972 the student population peaked at a record 1770 students. The current school enrolls 1200 students, a decline which reflects the national trend of declining urban school populations. Racial composition of the student body has been constant since 1970: 99% black, 1% Asian, Hispanic or white. Seventy percent of the students are entitled to Title I services.

As student enrollment declined there has also been a reduction in teaching staff. On Table 36, p. 149 we note that in 1972-73 the faculty comprised seventy-five teachers. In 1980-81 that number was reduced to 60 teachers. The faculty in 1981-82 includes 65 teachers, 8 non-teaching assistants, 4 secretaries, 2 vice-principals and the principal. Racial composition of the staff has been adjusted to approximate a 60% black 40% white distribution. Lynnwood follows the city wide trend of increased teacher absence. In 1972-73 there was a 7.5% rate of faculty absenteeism; in 1980-81, the rate was 12.8%.

When Simmons assumed the principalship at Lynnwood in 1969, "The floors were so dirty," one teacher said, "the muck stuck to your feet as you walked down the halls." The walls of those halls were etched with graffiti. Gang activity rampant in the community opened a second front for warfare inside the school. Most faculty members credit Simmons for curbing vandalism, cleaning the walls of graffiti and clearing out the gangs. In general, he established a sense of order and a reputation that learning was taking place. Teachers report that Simmons was a formidable man--"you didn't want to cross him." He also was respected as a caring educator. Students and faculty saw him, early each morning, at the front

Table 35

Pupil Data, 1972-81, Lynnwood Junior High School

Category	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
Average number enrolled	1700	1651	1583	1586	1380	1382	1325	1227	1271
Percentage average daily attendance	77.4	78.3	81.9	81.6	82.1	80.4	79.1	79.0	78.1
Racial composition									
% Black	99.3	99.5	99.6	99.5	99.5	99.3	99.5	99.2	99.3
% Hispanic	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3
% Other	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.4
Number retained in grade (June)	87	99	132	91	91	102	134	101	166
Percentage of pupils from low income families	N/A	48.5	56.1	56.6	57.6	61.9	65.6	70.3	72.2
Percentage of pupils scoring in reading									
85% ile	No Test Given	5.0	7.0	5.0	7.0	9.0	7.0	5.0	6.0
50-84% ile		22.0	24.0	26.0	28.0	28.0	29.0	31.0	25.0
16-49% ile		39.0	39.0	48.0	47.0	44.0	44.0	46.0	48.0
Below 16		34.0	30.0	21.0	18.0	19.0	20.0	18.0	21.0

Table 36

Faculty Data, 1972-81, Lynnwood Junior High School

Category	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
Total full-time staff	103	104	98	111	102	117	102	102	99
Number of instructional staff	75	74	70	82	75	79	64	62	60
Instructional staff with less than 2 years experience	17.3	15.0	20.0	30.0	29.3	8.9	6.2	9.7	6.6
Racial composition									
% Black	N/A	60.6	67.6	63.7	61.3	62.1	51.6	53.3	58.4
% Hispanic	N/A	39.4	32.4	36.3	38.7	37.9	48.4	46.7	41.6
% Other	N/A	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rate of absence	7.59	8.85	10.17	7.66	9.29	11.29	11.81	14.67	12.07

desk or patrolling the halls. Most days he was the last to leave the building. He was accessible and visible to anyone. His office was like a busy intersection where many teachers, students and parents stopped to chat.

He handled minute details other principals might delegate. If there was gang activity in the building he was known to pursue gang members for as much "as ten blocks into the community." Over his eleven year tenure he built close personal relationships with students and faculty. He was "the papa" and most of the decisions were his. He required weekly faculty meetings where he exhorted teachers to do better. If you were a member of "his school family," you felt his warmth, concern and dedication. Some teachers found this closeness smothering and infantalizing; they felt like children under papa's control. While they admired Simmons they felt that he did not treat them as professional adults. Some felt that while he had in fact made important improvements, he also did much covering up of his own and other faculty members shortcomings. "He played favorites" one teacher said, and if you were one of them you prospered.

One of his colleagues, Laura Richardson, the Reading/English Department chair, deserved his attention and admiration. In a significant way she created a department that gained a reputation as one of the best in the city, and that reputation was supported by student gains on national tests. She says that when she came to the school in 1967 seventy-one percent of the students scored below the sixteenth percentile in reading on the Iowa Test.

In 1973-74 the California Achievement Tests (CAT) were given for the first time in the district. Lynnwood CAT results in reading for that year show a significant drop (34%) in students scoring below the 16th percentile (see Table 35, p. 148). Since 1975 that number has averaged around twenty percent. The mean score for students scoring below the 16th percentile in reading from 1976 to 1981 was 19%. The mean for those scoring at or above the 50th percentile for the same period was 34%. We will discuss how Richardson was able to make these gains when we look at how she organized her staff to address the particular problems Lynnwood students presented. Together Simmons and Richardson formed an award winning team which brought distinction and recognition to an inner city minority junior high. Outside the Main Office numerous plaques attest to the outstanding achievement of the school on standardized tests in reading and English. The results in math did not keep pace, until recently, a fact we will address when we examine some of the change strategies introduced by Simmons replacement.

In 1980 Simmons left Lynnwood to assume the leadership of a high school. Some teachers "still mourn his leaving"; a few report that he still knows what's going on in the school. For six months after Simmons left, the school had an interim principal. By February 1981 Ruth Atkins was appointed principal at Lynnwood. What can be said of this new administrator's role in instructional leadership? How does this faculty perceive the various school leaders in performing tasks that influence the quality of the instructional program? The next section provides a general response to these questions.

General Perceptions of Instructional Leadership at Lynnwood Junior High

In the introduction we noted that instructional leadership was assessed through the Sources of Instructional Leadership (SOIL) instrument. The results of this survey will be summarized according to these roles: principal, vice-principal, department chair, school-based math and reading specialists and teachers.

Table 37 shows that staff see Atkins as involved in instructional leadership tasks and responsibilities. She makes a strong contribution to leadership in establishing an academic climate and in establishing goals and responsibilities. She also contributes to leadership in observing and evaluating teaching and in allocating resources. Vice-principals actively contribute to leadership in maintaining an academic climate, in observing and evaluating teachers, and in communicating an academic emphasis (see Table 38).

In four out of five factors, department chairs were viewed as contributing to leadership. Table 39 shows that these factors included improving instructional materials clarifying the direction of instruction, projecting an academic emphasis and developing collegial relationships. School-based math and reading specialists (Table 40) neither provide nor contribute to instructional leadership. Teachers, however, contribute to leadership in developing a learning climate, and in relating to the direction of instruction (Table 41).

The summary scores displayed in Table 42 indicate that the principal, the department heads and the vice-principals were perceived as making contributions to leadership. But no one role was seen as providing leadership. (See appendix p.   for explanation of the validity and reliability of these scores.)

Table 37

Principal Atkins' Instructional Leadership Profile

Factor	Mean	Number
Coordinates and supports instruction	.59	
Observes and evaluates teachers	1.19	
Establishes an academic climate	1.33	
Establishes goals and responsibilities	1.33	
Allocates resources	1.07	
Total		46

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

Table 38

Lynnwood Vice-Principals' Instructional Leadership Profile

Factor	Mean	Number
Directs and supports instruction	.60	
Maintains academic climate	1.15	
Improves instruction	.50	
Organizes resources	.39	
Observes and evaluates teachers	1.14	
Communicates academic emphasis	.67	
Total		46

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

Table 39

Lynnwood Department Chairs
Instructional Leadership Profile

Factor	Mean	Number
Improves use of instructional materials	1.11	
Projects an academic emphasis	.73	
Secures resources	.49	
Develops collegial relationships	.67	
Clarifies direction of instruction	1.24	
Total		46

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

Table 40

Lynnwood Reading and Math Specialists Instructional Leadership Profile

Factor	Mean	Number
Improves instructional materials	.32	
Improves instruction	.21	
Supports academic emphasis	.35	
Develops direction of instruction	.41	
Structures program	.33	
Supports coordination of instruction	.31	
Total		46

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

Table 41

Lynnwood Teachers
Instructional Leadership Profile

Factor	Mean	Number
Develops learning climate	1.06	
Supports colleagues	.18	
Organizes program	.26	
Relates to direction of instruction	.80	
Coordinates with colleagues	.34	
Develops instructional materials	.42	
Total		46

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

Table 42

Summary Factor Scores for
Lynnwood Leadership Roles

Role	Total Mean Score
1. Principal	1.10
2. Vice-principal	.74
3. Department head	.85
4. School-based reading and math specialists	.32
5. Teacher	.51

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

When we examine individual factors for each role we note the following:

1. The principal contributes actively to leadership in establishing goals and responsibilities. She contributes to leadership in observing and evaluating teachers, and in allocating resources. Her summary factor score, 1.10, is the highest of the four principals surveyed.
2. The vice-principals contribute to leadership in maintaining an academic climate, in observing and evaluating teachers, and in communicating an academic emphasis.
3. Department chairs contribute to leadership in clarifying the direction of instruction, in improving the use of instructional materials, in projecting an academic emphasis, and in developing collegial relationaships. Table 42 shows that the mean summary score for department chairs (.85) is higher than the vice-principals (.75).
4. School-based math and reading specialists neither provide nor contribute instructional leadership.
5. Lynnwood teachers contribute to instructional leadership in developing and learning climate and in relating to the direction of instruction.

The principal, vice-principals, department chairs, and teachers contribute to leadership; none provides leadership. The principal, however, plays a dominant role. Interestingly the department head, normally a weak role at the junior high, in this instance is perceived as making a strong contribution to leadership. We have established a general picture of instructional leadership at Lynnwood. Now we will describe in depth how two of these leaders, the principal and the English/Reading department chair,can perform their roles in the context of daily school operations.

Principal Atkins' leadership is marked by themes of transition: from a family structure within the school to a more impersonal, job orientation; from a school with one "premiere department" to a more balanced set of standards for all departments; from authority vested in one or two people to delegated responsibilities distributed among several administrators and faculty. To understand how these transitions affected Lynnwood we need to examine two distinct phases in the school's development. First we will describe how the English/Reading Department was able to make and sustain its gains in student achievement. We will analyze the leadership characteristics Richardson brought to her task and the kind of support she received from her staff. While phase one and phase two over lap, phase two is clearly marked by the introduction of the new principal Atkins. We will examine her new agenda, the resistance she encountered and the accommodations faculty are making. Finally we will evaluate the merits of her agenda in light of what we know about school effectiveness.

Phase One: The Development of a Premiere Department

2:00 p.m. Tuesday afternoon. Tuesday afternoons the school district allots schools either a thirty or fifty minute block of time for staff development, faculty or departmental meetings. This particular afternoon at Lynnwood the faculty separates into departmental meetings.

Room 404. A group of English/Reading teachers is gathering into Richardson's room for staff development. The walls of her room are lined with shelves, drawers and cubby holes stuffed with books and commercially produced materials designed to improve reading. On one wall the shelves contain teacher made lessons focused on various skills in grammar, usage, phonics, comprehension and writing. Teachers know that they can find the material they need for their classes in this room.

The room has a messy lived-in quality to it. Students willingly spend their lunch hour here to read or play an educational game. Students and teachers alike feel comfortable asking for help from Richardson or another teacher who might also be in the room. The messy look is deceptive; teachers from other schools who visit this room have called it "a hall for learning."

The staff development session is about to start. Teachers take their seats and thumb through a folder titled CAT (California Achievement Test). Inside the folder they find an analysis of last year's CAT scores, a CAT answer form, sample CAT questions on punctuation, lessons for improving punctuation skills, teacher's test manual on the CAT, and a calendar for scheduling students for the 1982 administration of the test. Several teachers in this group have worked with Richardson for more than five years. This session is "old hat" to them, but they listen and participate with apparent interest and concern.

Richardson directs the group to take a time sequence test on capitalization and finish within seven minutes. The group uses a replica of the answer sheet children would use to record their responses when they take the CAT. One of the researchers takes the test along with teachers and was amazed at how confusing the response format is. In recording punctuation a child first sees a display of numbers 1 to 40 indicating the line on the test where the punctuation may be required. Under each number are six bubbles each with a choice of punctuation printed inside the circle. The child darkens his/her choice. Next the child looks below, beyond the open space to five rows of bubbles. Each row indicates the word placement in the sentence from first to fifth word. The child darkens the bubble for the word he has assigned a mark of punctuation.

In the timed sequence the researcher finishes 25 out of the 40 questions. Unfortunately all of his answers are wrong since he only filled in the bubbles for the punctuation marks and did not record the word which required punctuation. This researcher is not alone in his chagrin; a few of the more recent teachers less familiar with the idiosyncracies of the test format made similar mistakes. The lesson is not lost on anyone. Richardson makes the necessary point. "They're not asking the children to punctuate," she grimaced in disgust, "they're asking them to know how to fill out the form." The school district uses the 1970 form of the CAT; evidently the newer version has a much simpler response system. But Richardson had no illusions that drilling children in how to fill out the answer sheet would magically raise scores. "You cannot teach them how to fill out the answer sheet before you have taught them the subject matter. They need refreshing and drill, drill, drill. Don't say we have nothing to do. Look at their past CAT scores." Teachers look at last year's scores. "Now you know that you need to do refreshers," she continues, "but don't be so inclusive. Focus on trouble spots. Be selective. Seventy-seven percent of our school got beginning capitalization right; 95% of the nation got it right. Look at contractions; we did poorly. Children did poorly in punctuation. Analyze their errors. Make a worksheet focused on improving the areas which they failed. Be sure to ask children to read their sentences out loud first. They don't say final 's'; so they ignore its meaning. Speech and thought must correlate. There is something then that you don't know. What is it? Ask them? Discuss it with your students."

Now shifting the groups attention to the teacher's manual Richardson remarks, "Look at the item analysis of the CAT with me. Notice where the test gives the greatest concentration and emphasize those items. For example in spelling emphasize silent letters because CAT tests heavily for it."

"Look friends, I'm preaching; but our scores went down a bit. We can do better. Now I want to end with a fable. Once upon a time there were two schools--School A and School B. Every year they went swimming. They had swimming test. In both schools they told them what was on the test--back stroke, side stroke, crawl, and breast stroke. When School A children approached the edge of the pool, their teachers said jump in and good luck. School B arranged several sessions where they demonstrated the various strokes and they observed children practicing the skills under their supervision. One day School A visited School B at pool side. They were horrified. They said, 'OO, Oh, dear me! You are teaching the test.'" The teachers smiled; but Richardson wanted to be certain they got the moral. She drove her point home. "If this school is going to be tested on a skill, you teach it." The session ends. The lesson, however, would not be lost.

Embedded in this lesson were a perspective on teaching, learning and a critique of the test. It was also a pep talk, a warm up for teachers who had one month remaining to strengthen student skills prior to taking the test. Richardson models a productive approach to test analysis. She is above all a problem solver; "Her method is scientific." If the scores went down, she tries to find out what went wrong. Is it the test answer sheet or a problem in skill development? "Ask the child about the error," she urges. "Discuss it with them. Learn from them how to pin point the problem area. Once you understand the problem, break it down into component parts and then teach, teach, teach. Demonstrate, practice and refresh." Richardson expects teachers to be sophisticated about tests and children. She trains teachers to analyze the test, master its structure, its emphases, its content. "There is no need for so many children to fail," she asserts. "Analyze the task, break it down into component parts, order the sequence and then teach it."

On a different occasion Richardson said she didn't believe there was anything wrong with most students who went to urban schools. "They're not brain damaged, or something that's wrong with them. They're just instructionally deprived. Understand?" Richardson believes that teachers fail students when they don't teach the skills they need to pass and excel on the test. When children are instructionally deprived, teachers have failed to understand the child, understand the skill to be mastered and find the appropriate method that will make it possible for that child to master the skill. Richardson asks teachers to be reflective about their personal capacity to learn and perform. Several of the newer teachers had trouble filling out the answer sheet accurately. An exercise like that is shocking and revealing. It forces a teacher to give the problem a second look. It stops blaming cycles and motivates attention to problem areas.

Richardson is an organized, methodical person. She doesn't believe in miracles, fads or quick cures. She warns teachers not to expect improvement on CAT tests usually given in February if they start teaching skills and test taking tactics in December. She reminds her teachers to plan, organize and pace their teaching so that development is gradual and over time. The first day of school in September is the time to begin. She knows that skill development is cumulative, that material needs to be presented many times in different ways. She has contempt for those who say she's teaching the test. She does not use actual test materials, but she makes certain that students have been taught the exact skills the test tests.

Further she insists that the tests yield useful feedback that can inform and direct future instructional decisions. Most schools within this sytem send their CAT answer sheets immediately after the administration of the test to the central office of research and evaluation for marking. Generally it takes several months to receive the results. Hence planning for the new school year might often be unrelated to the CAT scores. Richardson thinks that's an inefficient system. Her solution is to solve the problem. She and another colleague select a representative sample from different levels. They mark these tests on separate answer sheets before sending them to the central office. She maintains that they are scrupulous; they don't change student responses. They do want to get their results fast so that they can begin to plan next years work. As soon as the hand marked tests are scored, Richardson displays class rankings on poster board and discusses the results grade by grade with the faculty. In her department meetings further analysis focuses on class and section performance. Individual students are identified as needing help in particular areas for the remainder of the year. New grouping patterns are also discussed.

From their analysis of grade, section and student performances the department develops goals for the next school year. Over the summer Richardson prepares specific lessons by grade designed to meet the departmental goals. In the fall she conducts staff development focusing on the effective use of the new lessons. Teachers share their successes and failures in using the lessons. Modifications and additions are made as a result of this dialogue.

In the previous example we saw Richardson function in a directive, almost autocratic style. But her staff reports that she often works collaboratively. She does not seem locked into one style of leadership. We offer now an example illustrative of how Richardson approaches curriculum development with her staff. We will follow this example through to the implementation stage in classrooms.

Richardson and her staff were alarmed how poorly Lynnwood students wrote. The 7th graders couldn't write a simple paragraph. Teachers met and discussed the issues many times. One session they recalled how they were taught to write in school in 7th grade. Then they explored the first time they remember writing at home or at school. As one teacher recalled, "Copying was the biggest thing that we all remembered--we did a lot of copying. Even when we did composition, we always started with the teacher's writing samples on the board. Then we would write it. Then we would get out a thesaurus and we'd change the words around that she'd underline. 'I want another word for this; I want another word for that.' Then she'd leave off a topic sentence the following week and we'd learn what a topic sentence was and put it in. Our staff began talking about it and we thought, well, maybe copying is it. Later we looked at college texts on composition and we noticed that even in college they give models. The professor stands up there and says, 'Now this is an example of what I mean; make yours look something like it.' We began to apply that as one of our basic principles of our writing program--that you can't teach anything to a child until you've shown him what it is--you just don't assume that because he can write certain kinds of sentences that he is going to be able to write a letter or an expository composition. It has to be broken down and explained step by step."

Teachers implemented their analysis of how writing should be taught in the same spirit they approach teaching mechanics and proofreading. They identify the problem, analyze the task, break down into component parts; integrate the parts. Teachers who taught seventh grade agreed on a particular sequence for teaching writing. All teachers taught the same skills within the same time frame--usually within a month. Then all classes were tested in the cafeteria to check for mastery. Richardson marked the papers and posted the scores by class. This method of organization was arrived at consensually. Staff agreed on the skill to be taught, a standard for mastery and a time frame. Teachers maintain that agreements come after intensive and extensive discussion. Methods of instruction are at the discretion of the individual teacher. The consensus formed a strong bond of family discipline and accountability. Occasionally a newer teacher will balk at the imposition of such rigorous discipline. Richardson related an instance when a newer teacher tried to test this norm with a veteran teacher. "Suppose we don't do what she says?" "You're going to feel mighty cold out there," the other teacher predicted. We don't want to imply that this discipline is oppressive; that does not seem to be the case. But teachers are pragmatic. In this school they feel motivated to emulate successful practice.

It is easy to construe a task analysis approach as mechanistic. Richardson would deny that. She'd say--"You mean ordered?" Other teachers are quick to respond to the challenge. "We try to find ways of taking the routine skill and practice it in creative ways.... When we're doing letter writing or absence and thank you notes we ask students to pretend they're a character in a fairy tale situation....add drawings. I had kids actually make things and then write expository essays explaining how the things were made. One year I had them make young children's books. We did everything from story writing to book production. But it's the same thing; it was still structured." In the spring of each year this school has a writing fair. Student composition of all sorts including an occasional novel are displayed in the halls. The school year has a rhythm and discipline to it. "The first part of the year we slap skills into these kids heads until they're sick and tired of it," said Richardson. "After the CAT we pick up with literature and writing."

Richardson has a vision, a technology to support it and a relatively stable staff of teachers to help her implement. Stability and continuity have been important elements in her success. A veteran teacher explains how these two elements contributed to the department's success.

> When I first came we would lose 75 to 80% of the teachers every year. It was a constant turnover. And so you were always meeting new people and learning to work with new poeple. I think the department chairman added some stability to that. When she took over, I guess after two years, we hit a period where we were highly stable for a period of five or six years and the most stable department in the school. We might loose one person a year, but rarely. That stability gave us an edge on a lot of the other departments for several reasons. First of all we were able to develop some curriculum materials and use them and use them and use them. We developed them and refined them over the years and not have to teach someone to use the materials or teach someone the curriculum over and over again. Consequently, I think the instructional program really improved greatly during those periods of stability. It was also, because there was some stability to the department and because there was some stability to the curriculum material the teachers knew it and you were able to progress because you had been here the year before and you didn't have to start fresh. The students, I think, began to see us as stable. We were the people who were always here. Which was not true in math and science particularly. So an English teacher had a kind of an edge on a classroom. That department was seen as "that's where they're people who teach". In their words because they saw you as always being there. I think we've had less stability lately, but we've had better curriculum development because the department chairman is writing a lot of the materials we use. We've all had an input in the writing units, or lessons within units and that kind of thing. So that material is something that we feel we own. And that's helpful when you're using something that you had some input into or in some cases you even helped write. It's a good feeling.

Urban schools are plagued with instability. Some of the instability comes from students who live in stressed families; some of it is generated by the system itself through capricious transfer and lay off policies. Stereotypes build up about poor minority neighborhoods and their schools. In these schools faculty instability is often matched by their students.

A few schools manage to break a downward trend. Lynnwood may be one of them. The English/Reading Department under Richardson's leadership changed the direction of the school away from failure and chaos toward order and mastery. The factors that contributed to this success were complex and interdependent. The former principal, Simmons, established a climate conducive to learning. He repeatedly urged faculty to strive for higher student achievement; he cleaned up the school; he made it a safe place for learning to occur; he gave selected faculty, namely Richardson, free reign to develop different educational strategies. But he was not the instructional leader of the school. Richardson, a department head, was. The individual strategies Richardson used or developed in and of themselves are not unusual. Unusual is that they were integrated into a coherent system that was in fact implemented. In summarizing this section we review the basic elements in her approach.

1. View learning/teaching issues from a problem solving perspective.
2. Develop and refine a teaching technology designed to address basic problems in student achievement. Develop a consensus on what is to be done and how it will be accomplished.
3. Supervise carefully the implementation of the program by providing extensive staff development and classroom monitoring.
4. Visualize through charts and displays student and by extention teacher performance to help motivate renewed effort and to focus attention on persistent problem areas or emergent ones.
5. Use evaluation results as a basis for setting new goals.
6. Involve teachers collaboratively each step of the way in a problem solving process; create a sense of team effort and investment which in turn increases the stability of the faculty and the ability to mature in professional competence.

The question remains was Lynnwood an effective school? Compared to the accomplishments of other inner city junior highs in the area of reading and English, one would have to say Lynnwood was effective. While reading and writing skills are basic, they are not sufficient to help a child compete for jobs and professions that require competence and excellence in math and science skills. Those departments among others in the school were in disarray. Goals were unclear, teacher performance uneven, teacher turn over still problematic. Atkins, who replaced Simmons, has a broader, more comprehensive view of an effective school. Her vision, influenced by twenty years of experience as a teacher and vice-principal at the senior high level, requires higher standards of performance from teachers and students in all departments and all subject areas. Unlike the previous principal, Atkins sees herself primarily as an instructional leader. The curriculum, she asserts, is her top priority.

Atkins brought a different agenda and style of operating to Lynnwood. Both her agenda and her style were problematic and stimulating for this faculty. In this section we will examine the rationale for her agenda and the kinds of resistance she encountered. We will show that her style of operating which displays a more impersonal job/work perspective clashed with the family-like affiliations that had previously been nurtured in the school. We will also explore some evidence of accommodation between Atkins and her staff. Finally we will re-examine the question of effectiveness in light of the changes Atkins is making.

Phase Two: The High School as a Model

"If teachers have not taught at the high school, they don't understand the end goals of school." Atkins made that statement in an early interview. It is a revealing statement reflecting her extensive experience as a high school teacher and administrator. She knows the demands the high school makes of students and she insists that junior high schools prepare their students to succeed at the next level. She believes that a K-12 education should provide a carefully articulated curriculum for students.

Basic education she asserts, should be like a seamless cloth--initiated in elementary school and culminating in high school. She knows that in reality the cloth is far from seamless. Sections are threadbare, weakening the whole fabric; designs are started but end abruptly without plan or reason. This seamless cloth is more like a patchwork lacking coherence, meaning and integrity (see Educational Leadership Nov. 1978). It barely holds together. In her previous position as a vice-principal in an urban high school Atkins tried to coordinate the various strands of the curriculum process within a community. She involved parents, students and educators representing the feeder pattern of elementary, junior high and senior high schools within one district. She expected articulation among the three levels so that teachers might be able to "... reduce needless repetition as well as educational gaps." The results were mixed. The experimental group became better informed and more sophisticated about the curriculum development process. But the central office bureaucracy was unwilling to support a decentralized effort at curriculum control.

Expanding Academic Offerings

Atkins current agenda at Lynnwood is more modest than her previous experiment. She wants junior high students to be able to cope effectively once they graduate into the senior high. Conditions, procedures, attitudes extant at the senior high influence the way she shapes the junior high program. She examined Lynnwood's program and found it inadequate and unbalanced in emphasis. Some teachers felt that Atkins' examination was superficial, devoid of direct consultation from staff. Others were quick to support her findings. We will return to this issue when we discuss how some of Atkins change strategies were implemented.

Lynnwood did have an excellent English/Reading program. But in significant curricular areas such as math, science and foreign languages the course offerings were weak. Algebra I was offered to two or three sections per year. Biology was not offered and students could only choose to take one foreign language--French. Instead of Algebra I Lynnwood, like many similar urban junior high schools, offered General Math to most 9th grade students. General Math gives students some elementary skills in algebra, but it cannot serve as a basis for a strong academic program. By not offering Algebra I in 9th grade it precludes the possibility of taking Algebra II in 10th and trigonometry in 11th grade. Similarly Lynnwood did not offer biology in 9th grade, only general science. Biology is not part of the Board of Education's mandated curriculum for junior high schools. Atkins petitioned her district superintendent to introduce biology at Lynnwood on an experimental basis.

If the experiment was successful other junior high schools might be encouraged to include biology. Introducing biology in 9th grade seemed especially helpful to Industrial Arts majors who often are required to take several shop courses simultaneously thereby cutting down their changes to take science courses. If students can be rostered for biology in the 9th grade that opens the possibility for them to take chemistry in 10th or 11th grades and perhaps physics in 11th or 12th grades. Further Atkins feels that a solitary foreign language offering is too limiting. A student transferring into Lynnwood who had taken Spanish in his previous school would be forced to drop Spanish and take French. Since Spanish has wide utility in the United States and South America, Atkins argued for a Spanish teacher and won. For the first time in five years Lynnwood was offering two foreign languages. The rationale for expanding the curriculum was based on Atkins' belief that the high school roster is rigid and the final three year time frame limits the choices students can make. Therefore it is imperative to give students basic academic courses in 9th grade at the junior high so that choice is not foreclosed before they enter high school in 10th grade.

Atkins' argument is symbolic as well as practical. She wants to upgrade the overall academic standard in the school by exposing students to rigorous math and science courses and diverse foreign languages. She is contemptuous of the watered down curricula offered in most inner city schools which perpetuate a cycle of low expectations and low achievement. She hypothesizes that some educators believe that low SES students cannot do rigorous academic coursework. Gradually those courses are dropped.

As a result the school loses the few academic students it has and becomes a "dumping ground or holding pen" for those students who are bound for low level vocational and commercial programs. She believes that subjects such as algebra, chemistry and biology can no longer be exclusively offered to academic track students. She maintains that "these subjects are required for many careers in high-tech vocations." She believes that if students do not learn how to master "necessary prerequisites" in the junior high they will be excluded from the better high schools. Even before Atkins arrived, Lynnwood teachers would counsel students not to attend the neighborhood high school because it lacked a strong academic program. That school traditionally has only one section of Algebra II; in the better high schools most academic students take two years of algebra.

Structures that Shape Accountability

The introduction of three new academic courses alone will not transform a school. Atkins appreciated the high level of professional performance achieved by the English/Reading department but she felt that the rest of the school's departments needed focus, upgrading and a system of accountability. Her strategies for achieving these changes were to install in each department basic structures that would promote greater teacher awareness of curriculum, time used for instruction, student retention of content, instructional effectiveness and standards for grading. Initially she required each department to review Board of Education mandated curriculum guides and then produce course goals and standardized syllabi. These formed the basis for the development of departmental mid-year and final exams. She requested department chairs to submit their exams to her for review and approval. By requiring goals, syllabi, mid-year and final exams, Atkins believed teachers would be motivated to pace their instruction according to previously agreed upon plans. In some ways the mid-year became a governor which held a department responsible for teaching within a time frame. When a department's staff analyzed the results of the mid-year Atkins hoped it would display what was taught, and how well it was mastered by students. Based on this information, teachers could make course corrections in pacing for the rest of the year.

By requiring each department to prepare a single mid-year exam for all students, Atkins was expressing the expectation that teachers would teach a standardized body of material. Thus students would be less vulnerable to the idiosyncracies, "pet interests or weaknesses" of various teachers. Further, when a department reviewed test results, Atkins believed that teachers would notice that some of their colleagues were more successful in teaching particular topics while others were not. Finally she thought that teachers would informally assist each other in improving instruction. Hence the mid-term could be used as an informal system for accountability and staff development within the department.

As soon as syllabi and mid-years were in place Atkins called for a review of the grading system. She believed that the schools grading system was inappropriate. Again her standard came from the high school. "Grades have fluctuated," she maintains. "High schools are powerful;

they don't fluctuate. There should be a continuum. Now it's disjointed. Educators haven't been given enough direction. In the high school you never get an 'A' if you're absent a lot. Grades are like a pay check. You can't half produce and get a pay check. That's not preparation for the real world. These students need survival skills." Atkins recommended that each grade standard from A to E be upgraded. The critical change was applied to the standard for passing. Previously a range from 60 to 69 warranted a D. The new standard required a 70 to pass.

This standard for passing took on new dimensions when later in the school year it was coupled with a change in requirements for promotion. Formerly students would be promoted if they passed two majors and two minor subjects. This policy is commonly used throughout the system. Atkins recommended that students must pass three majors and one minor for promotion. The rationale for this change was as follows: most secondary school students take four major subjects: English, social studies, math and science. Title I students take reading as a fifth major. Under the previous system a student could fail math or English and still be promoted. The new standard requires that student pass at least one of the basic skill subjects. For Title I students "one of the three majors passed must be reading." This policy has had a significant impact on the school. Because of this change in June 1982 there was a 50% increase in the number of students retained in grade (see Table 43, p. 178). Retained students were advised to attend summer school; many did. This revised promotion policy has important social and academic implications for teachers and students. We will discuss this

Table 43

Lynnwood Students Retained in Grade

Grade	Number of Students Retained in 1981	Number of Students Retained in 1982
9th	27	51
8th	83	142
7th	73	165
Total	183	358

Data Source: School Records

issue in detail when we contrast Polisher's implementation of a similar policy with Lynnwood's.

Strengthening the Role of Department Chairs

Expanded academic course offerings, departmental exams, standardized syllabi and higher standards for grading and promotion provides Lynnwood with basic structures for professional accountability. They also reflect the kinds of demands normally exacted at the high school level. Curriculum content and procedures for monitoring content as well as the organization of professional roles imitated the high school model. In the high school, department heads have clearly defined roles. They seldom teach more than one or two classes a day, leaving them available time for supervision, staff and curriculum development and department meetings. Department heads, at the high school, form the instructional cabinet who together with the administration supervise the faculty and set basic academic policy. In contrast, at the junior high level department chairs are given token resources to do a somewhat similar job. At Lynnwood, for example most department chairs teach a full roster of five classes. They are released two periods per week for departmental business, clearly an insufficient amount of time to do a complex job. Typically the junior high chairmanship is a low status administrative job with little time, power or resources allocated for influencing colleagues. A notable exception at Lynnwood is Richardson. Over a period of 12 years she built a high status department which brought distinction to the school. Because of her various responsibilities (she is chair of the English/Reading Departments and also testing coordinator) she was able to build some flexibility into the rostering of her department. Richardson and one other master teacher are released part of the day to do supervision and co-teaching. No other chair has similar latitude in the use of faculty resources.

Atkins admits that she expects junior high chairs to act like their counterparts at the senior high. She sees herself as a generalist and she looks to subject chairs for specialized leadership in subject areas. Some chairs enjoy the challenge of being asked to do highly professional tasks. One chair said, "I like her ideas ..., more like the high school situation. More delegation to the department chair. Even though we're not a high school; we don't have as much flexibility and freedom as high school chair people; we still have that position. Why have the position if you don't do something with it." A second department chair said that she was prepared to withdraw her request for transfer because she "liked Atkins' idea of looking toward the high school for our students." She agreed with the tougher grading system and the need for closer articulation between the three organizational levels of a K-12 school system. Other department chairs, however, resent the increased responsibility without sufficient released time to do the job effectively. They also feel Atkins doesn't understand "junior high children, that her demands are not age appropriate."

Unlike her predecessor, Atkins holds few faculty meetings for the whole staff. Rather she requires a weekly cabinet meeting with department chairs and a weekly meeting with vice-principals. Twice per month chairs are asked to hold department meetings. Once a month a general faculty meeting is scheduled; often this meeting is cancelled. Infrequent general faculty meetings makes some staff feel that Atkins is aloof and inaccessible. Atkins justifies her need for frequent cabinet level meetings because she saw that as the appropriate vehicle for upgrading the academic program. Several cabinet meetings and at least one faculty meeting were devoted to discussion on school wide goals, feedback on departmental goals, the new grading system, preparing and evaluating mid-year and final exams. Since department chairs do not have the authority to evaluate teacher performance, Atkins has delegated that responsibility to two vice-principals.

Faculty Reaction to Change

The changes Atkins instituted were substantive and stylistic. Most faculty appear to value her new agenda. In a survey we conducted in May of 1982, fourteen months after Atkins was installed as principal, we asked the following question: Which statement best describes your present feelings about your school's instructional leadership? Thirty-one percent recorded "We're making real gains" and 44% noted "We're making some progress." Seventy-five percent of the faculty believe that their school's instructional leadership was moving in a progressive direction (see Table 44, p. 182). In a follow-up question (Table 45) asking respondents to rank order their principal's priorities, 43 out of 48 respondents ranked instructional leadership as their perception of their principal's first priority. From these two responses as well as interview data it appears that many of the faculty members value the direction of Atkins agenda. But other faculty members question or disagree

Table 44

Lynnwood Teachers Perceptions of Present State of Instructional Leadership

Teacher Perception	Number	Percentage
Making real gains	14	31.11
Making some progress	20	44.44
Don't know	5	11.11
Slipping a little	4	8.89
Losing ground	2	4.44
Total	45	

Data Source: Additional Information Survey

Table 45

Faculty Perception of Principal Atkins' Priorities

Rank Order	Area of Responsibility	Mean[a]	Number
1	Instructional Leadership	1.097	43
2	Student Relations	2.988	43
3	School/District/Central Office Relations	3.198	43
	School/Community Relations	3.221	43
	Business Management	3.813	48
4			
5			

Data Source: Additional Information Survey

[a] 1 = highest priority; 5 = lowest priority

strongly with the manner or style she used to institute these changes. In interviews with teachers and some department chairs the following negative reactions recur: "changes are abrupt," "new rules come from no where," "we have no input," "there's no dialogue or real discussion," "I'm not going to buck that lady," "she doesn't understand the junior high; there's no process, no preparation for students or teachers."

The introduction of algebra is a case in point. Atkins insisted that all 9th graders be rostered for Algebra I. Jamison, the Math chair, argued that that was impractical; most of the students do not have the skills necessary to do the work. He recommended a gradual approach: start with the incoming 7th grade class and point them toward algebra. From his perspective, of the 350 students in 9th grade sections only 70 were prepared to take algebra. "The rest were not algebra material." For most of the year Atkins held firm on her decision. By spring, however, Jamison had convinced Atkins that three or four sections of 9th grade students could not do algebra. Atkins "backed down a bit," but felt vindicated by the fact that "two-thirds of our students are taking algebra. Last year only 2 or 3 classes did."

A seasoned teacher was less sanguine about the final results.

> I think that there's a certain premise that Atkins is working with which is true. I think it's a fine line; it's like balancing on a tight rope or something. I think she's right in saying that very often we expect too little. At the same time, I think, in some ways her expectations might be too high, too. So, it has to balance somewhere between those two extremes. I think part of it would come from having a knowledge of learning process. Because if you know what the learning process is, then you know where the students are, and you know what you're expecting. So, you know if they...you don't have to worry about not expecting enough or not expecting too much, cause you're kind of learning to balance it by taking everything apart.

> So you can't just go in and make a blanket statement and say, because we never gave them algebra they'll never learn to do it. Well, we may give them algebra, and they'll still not learn to do it.

This teacher is saying, along with Edmonds (1979) that high expectations are necessary but they are not sufficient to produce learning. He would avoid either/or decisions such as: all students must take algebra. These students can't do algebra; give them General Math. He suggests that there is a subtle, developmental process that needs to occur: Reach for algebra; prepare for it. But if students can't master it be sure they can do basic math skills. As a teacher he prefers to view learning in gradual, incremental steps leading to the highest goal a student can reach.

Atkins views the academic program from an administrator's stance. She reasons this school has low expectations for students taking math. She makes an administrative decision to shoot for the top. "In shooting for the top," a dpeartment chair explained, "you'll at least hit the middle. If you shoot for the middle, you'll hit toward the bottom." Atkins' decision to roster all 9th grade students (350) for algebra was categorical. There was little process or discussion. She listened to complaints, but "hung tough" for several months and then yielded somewhat when the facts were indisputable. Many of Atkins' decisions appear to follow a similar pattern. She decides that there should be a change of some sort. She brings it up for limited discussion in her cabinet meeting. She listens to debate, makes few compromises, and then issues an order. She knows that it may take another year or two to work out implementation problems, but she seems willing to risk student and faculty displeasure to establish her direction. She says that she is not cut off from faculty influence or feedback. She will "back into things," or "back down" or "work democratically."

Another kind of complaint we heard focused on the visibility of the principal. In our interviews some faculty members said they seldom saw Atkins. Visibility of the principal is a serious concern for faculty. When a principal is visible it implies that he or she is committed to the school and its program. We asked two questions in our survey to assess teacher perception of the principal's visibility. The first question asked staff to recall the number of times per day they saw the principal monitor student behavior in the halls and cafeteria last year (see Table 46, p. 187). The second question asked a teacher to indicate the number of times the principal visited their classroom to observe them teaching (see Table 48, p. 189). We discuss faculty perception regarding the principal's hall monitoring first (Table 46).

If we combine the top two responses we note that 33 of the 46 respondents or 70% of them felt they saw the principal two or more times per day monitoring student behavior. Almost half of the respondents felt Atkins was visible 4+ times per day. These survey findings were also corroborated by direct observations of the researchers. We observed Atkins on 11 half and 7 full working days. During our full day observations we recorded that on 5 out of 7 days she made at least two tours of the building (see Table 47, p. 188).

What then accounts for some of the reactions we heard from faculty complaining that the principal was not visible? One explanation might

Table 46

Number of Times Principal Atkins Monitors Pupil Behavior in the Corridors and Cafeteria

Number of Times Daily Principal Monitors Hall, Cafeteria Behavior	Number Responding	Percentage
4 or more	21	45.65
2 or 3	11	23.91
1	2	4.35
0	1	2.17
Uncertain	11	23.91
Total	65	

Table 47

Times Principal Atkins Tours the Building

Number of Days Researcher Made Full Day Observation of Principal	Number of Times a Day Principal Tours Building
1	0
1	1
2	2
2	3
1	4

Table 48

Number of Times Principal Atkins
Observed Classroom Last Year

Number of Times Teacher Reports Being Observed Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
More than 3	5	13.16
2	5	13.16
1	11	28.95
0	17	44.74
Total	38	

Data Source: Additional Information Survey

be found in contrasting the previous principal's work day with Atkins'. Simmons was widely admired for the long hours he worked. He was the first person in the school and often the last to leave. He spent those before and after school hours touring the halls or greeting and chatting with teachers and students at the front desk. Atkins, in contrast, seldom appears before 8:30 a.m.; after a brief tour of the school yard at dismissal time she leaves the building area. When a teacher asked Atkins why she was not in school earlier, her response supposedly was: "If students are not here, there's no need for me to be here." Atkins does seem to be visible during the school day but a faculty accustomed to a more personal, family like touch missed seeing their principal at pre and post school hours. The extra investment of personal time by their principal seemed to symbolize a sense of commitment above and beyond the job.

An incident related to us by several different sources may serve to characterize this basic shift in orientation from a familial structure to a more impersonal, corporate view the job. One version of the story states the event this way. A faculty member said to Atkins, "... a lot of people want you to be mama now." Atkins' response (according to this source) was, "These people are running up 30, 40, 50 years old: they better learn to be in that situation. Big daddy is gone."

An additional dimension to the issue of a principal's visibility in a school related to his or her ability to visit classrooms for observation purposes (see Table 48, p. 189). Numerous researchers note that effective principals in elementary schools make frequent visits

(Edmonds, 1979; Venesky and Winfield, 1979; Brookover and Lezotte, 1977; and Weber, 1971).

Forty-five percent of the respondents believe that Atkins made no classroom visits to observe. In our seven full day observations of the principal we saw her make one 50-minute observation. When she made tours of the building (on 5 out of 7 full day observations) she often made spot checks in classrooms. Spot checks were frequently directed at substitute teachers. Since these teachers are transient the principal wanted to make the substitute and the class aware the learning was expected that day. Interviews with faculty indicated that it was unusual to be observed once a year and not uncommon to be observed once every 5 or 10 years by the previous principal.

We got a somewhat better response when we surveyed faculty reactions to the frequency vice principals observe (see Table 49, p. 192).

It is a common practice for principals to delegate observation of instruction to vice-principals. But as the survey response shows their observations are not frequent. We asked Atkins for a record listing the dates teacher observations were performed. In analyzing the period from October 1980 through February 1982 we found that a total of 35 observations were conducted. (Note Atkins assumed the principalship in February 1981). Of the 35 observations most were conducted by vice-principals.

In an early interview with Atkins she told us on a Monday morning that she had marked the word observation in large red letters on her calendar. Later that week we were told that she was not able to do any

Table 49

Number of Times Lynnwood Vice-Principals Observed Classroom Last Year

Number of Times Teacher Reports Being Observed Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
More than 3	3	7.69
2	10	25.64
1	18	46.15
0	8	20.51
Total	39	

Data Source: Additional Information Survey

Table 50

Comparison by Grade of Lynnwood's Achievement Scores
California Achievement Tests, 1970 Edition

	16th Percentile			16th to 49th			At or Above 50th Percentile		
	Read Total	Math Total	Language Total	Read Total	Math Total	Language Total	Read Total	Math Total	Language Total
Grade 7 1980	20	37	17	45	38	33	35	25	50
Grade 8 1981	22	36	17	51	47	36	27	17	47
Grade 9 1982	14	27	N/A	56	50	N/A	30	22	N/A

Data Source: Office of Research & Evaluation observations that week. When we remarked that in a neighboring middle size suburban school district, administrators are required to do 100 observations per year Atkins replied, "That would not be an honest goal for this system. They (suburban district) do not deal with the kinds of pressures we deal with." We agree with Atkins that urban principals often work under stressful and at times awful conditions. But it is equally true that the norm within this system to conduct frequent observations is poorly established.

Lynnwood is in a period of transition. Change has come swiftly. The full impact or import or these changes is yet to unfold. The school seems to be losing some of its former characteristics. We cannot say definitively how these changes affect student achievement gains; although scores on the 1982 CAT in some areas showed improvement.

Looking at Table 50 which traces progress of an entering 7th grade through a 9th grade we see fluctuation in scores between years. In both reading and math note a reduction between 8th and 9th grades of the number of students scroing below the 16th percentile and a small increase of students scoring at or above the 50th percentile. Lynnwood's reading scores rank the highest out of a sample of 11 inner city junior high schools with comparable concentrations (60% or more) of Title I eligible students. But they do not meet a standard for school effectiveness established by Venezsky and Winfield (1979) and Winfield (1982). In two studies they defined effective elementary schools as "...those urban and low SES schools which had 50% or more of students at each grade level reading at or above national norms on standardized achievement tests." We did not find a convincing explanation for this discrepancy. Richardson and her staff offer the following as a partial explanation. They claim that higher ability students from at least two of the five feeder schools are recruited for desegregated schools. The loss of these students, faculty believes, affects Lynnwood's capacity to increase percentages at the upper achievement levels.

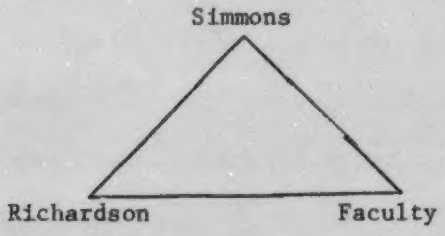
We asked Richardson why she was able to get almost 50% of the students scoring at the 50th percentile in language in 7th and 8th grades, but an average of only 30% from 1980 to 1982 met that standard in reading. Her response was: "Teaching language usage is relatively easy. Our structured writing program paid off. But reading comprehension requires more complex cognitive skills, and is more difficult to teach."

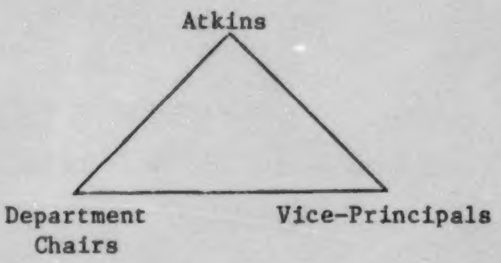
The math improvement is new. The mean score from 1974 through 1980 for students achieving at or above the 50th percentile was 13%. The sudden increase in 8th grade math scores for 1982 may be a fluke event, but it may be attributable to a host of factors related to Atkins administration: more attention from administration; frequent classroom visits and department meeting by a vice-principal who is a former math teacher, intense departmental discussion of objectives and teaching strategies, energetic new department heal and increased stability of the staff. This last point is a factor we discussed in relation to the success of the English/ Reading Department may be crucial. Atkins had the opportunity to replace three long term substitutes with three certified math teachers. She elected to keep the substitutes. She reasoned that the substitutes had worked in Lynnwood for two consecutive years; they knew the students and they were responding to supervision.

Summary Observations

We have presented Atkins' agenda for change, noting that her guiding model is the high school--its programs, expectations, and organizational structures. In force-fitting a junior high into a high school mold, Lynnwood seems to have lost some of its supportive climate for children in transition; in return, however, they may gain a stronger sense of adult realities. We noted a basic shift in style of leadership and structure of organization as a result of Atkins' administration: from a familial structure to one emphasizing delegation and differentiation of responsibility, demands for higher performance standards school-wide; a caring but distant work climate.

The balance of power and authority is also shifting at Lynnwood. When Simmons was principal a tight pact existed between him and Richardson and her staff to raise reading scores. Their success is solid and continues to affect students positively under the new administration. The new principal, however, wants to broaden the base of excellence and responsibility to include more if not all departments. That shift created a temporary feeling of loss of influence on the part of the Reading/English Department, but it also helped empower others. We can diagram the change in relationship in this manner.





These diagrams are extreme representations of the situation. Note that in Atkins diagram the faculty is not represented. Atkins, unlike Simmons, does not feel the need to meet often with the faculty. She prefers more frequent and regular communication at the cabinet and vice-principal meetings. Her limited accessibility to the total faculty may prove problematic in the future.

There are signs of progress at Lynnwood. Under Simmons administration the bedrock conditions for achievement were established--a clean, orderly school ready for learning. Richardson and her staff developed a tested technology that made it possible for a larger number of students to master the basic skills in Reading and English. Richardson's role provides an important example at a time when so much emphasis is placed on the need for the principal to act as the instructional leader. Her example shows that a school can make major gains through the effort of a skilled department chair and staff. While Simmons was a supportive principal, he was not an instructional leader. Every principal can not be an instructional leader. The alliance between Richardson and Simmons is one of many types of productive professional relationships. But this case study makes an additional point with the introduction of a principal who views herself as the instructional leader. Previously Lynnwood was effective in only one department. While Richardson did influence other departments it was impossible for her to supervise and direct them. That job requires a higher level of line authority. The principal has the ultimate responsibility for the school as a whole. When the principal is the instructional leader, the potential for generalized effectiveness across departments may increase.

But we do not want to overstate our case. When we concluded our study in June 1982, Atkins had been principal at Lynnwood for 15 months. Some of her successes may be due to an Hawthorne affect of a new administration. We might get a truer sense of her actual accomplishments if we examined student and staff performance at the end of Atkins' third year in office. Further it can be argued that Atkins' "corporate style" attempts to make all the department chairs like Richardson. Most of the department chairs appear motivated to take on more responsibility. But they are hampered by not having released time to do supervision and curriculum development. Also Richardson sets a high standard as an instructional leader. One energetic department chair confided that he thought it would take 5 or 10 years before he could match Richardson's expertise.

Atkins is capable of leading. She has ideas about curriculum, instruction and how they relate to the needs of minority students. She can be forceful and decisive. She can also be harsh, distant and abrupt. We have seen some of these weaknesses softened and adjusted by her willingness to negotiate a point or decision. Her adjustment of the requirement that all 9th graders take algebra is a case in point. Finally we suspect that Atkins' ability to moderate her personal style of interaction will affect her capacity to lead and influence her staff.

Polisher Junior High School

Description of the Community

Polisher Junior High is located in the north central section of a major urban city. One of its great assets is a large sprawling park west of the school. Houses facing the park display ornate facades; once were elegant now boarded over and defaced. If we tour the neighborhood in a five block radius, we see sharp contrasts. Tree lined streets with neatly kept gardens back up against blocks where houses are gutted or razed. Few businesses remain. For many years a supermarket chain located its central offices on the main street of this neighborhood. Five years ago the company went bankrupt. Vandalism and fires have stripped the five story building down to its steel girders--a stark reminder of the offices and supply rooms which once provided jobs for residents in this community. Across the street stands Marshall Vocational-Technical High School. Polisher students and their parents often refer to Marshall as a first rate school. Entrance requirements are stringent. Some of Polisher's better students are accepted.

Closer to the Polisher school building we observe store front churches. Like tabernacles they open, close and move on without long term commitments to a location. Other churches are more permanent and stable. Their structures massive and spacious can serve several hundred families. Several churches show over their main entrances the superimposition of Christian symbols over Hebrew ones. Thirty years ago this neighborhood was densely populated by Jews. As a larger number of blacks moved into the area Jews left.

Some people in this community live in abject poverty. The large towers of the Arnold Knox public housing project keep an uneasy watch over marginal existences. Housing projects are notorious for their abundance of crime, rats and drugs. This one is no exception. Project children have attended Polisher for the last 25 years. One teacher thinks these children have lower abilities than most who attend the school.

We noted that this neighborhood is marked by contrasts. Along another main street we see a modern community medical services building. One side of this corner building is covered with a dramatic mural showing the city's skyline. At the highest point in the mural stands a statue of the city's founding father. Looking up at the statue from the bottom of the mural are four small black children holding hands. Diagonally across the street from the medical center is the home of an Afro-American cultural center. Its external wall also displays a painting, this time reminding the community of its African heritage. We see an imperial black woman dressed in regal clothes looking off on to a distant plain. The two murals tell part of this community's story. Blacks are seen living on two continents. In Africa blacks were kings and queens, rulers of empires. And in America they are locked into inner city neighborhoods; often the wards of the city or state looking up for help.

While some appear helpless in this neighborhood, others are knowledgeable about self help and community organization. The block is the key sub unit of community. Neighbors have learned how to help themselves by banning together "to get things done in the community". In summary, the Polisher community is typical of inner city ghettos. Most are poor, unemployed and live under difficult circumstances. Those few who have marketable skills find steady employment, which permits them to build more middle class lives.

General Characteristics of the School

Polisher like Lynnwood was built in 1927. The main entrance similar in design to Lynnwood is distinguished by a large sign hung from the edge of the central hall arch. It reads: Polisher--The Academics Plus School. Academics Plus (A+) is the label this school uses to describe a network of contractual agreements between parents, students, teachers and administrators regarding discipline, dress codes, academic expectations and standards for promotion. A+ is an effort to mobilize concern, interest and commitment from the entire community in providing an effective instructional program. Later in this report we will discuss A+ in greater detail.

Polisher was built to hold 1380 students. At present the school contains 1348 students. The building suffers from disrepair and neglect common to many inner city schools. Plaster is cracked from persistent water leaks. Water damage was so severe in the girls and boys gyms that the wooden floor buckled making the surface hazardous for athletic activity. After months of bureaucratic delay the Board of Education agreed to replace the gym floors. The heating system is also unreliable. In sections of the building it is difficult to balance the heat. As a result some rooms are so cold they cannot be used, while other rooms are too hot for comfort. The custodial staff has a hard time keeping up with

Table 51

Pupil Data, 1972-81, Polisher Junior High School

Category	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
Average number enrolled	1462	1462	1481	1379	1366	1297	1368	1325	1348
Percentage average daily attendance	84.3	83.7	87.4	86.9	86.3	86.3	83.8	85.1	84.2
Racial composition									
% Black	99.5	99.1	99.9	99.7	99.8	99.7	99.7	99.7	99.8
% Hispanic	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1
% Other	0.4	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Number retained in grade (June)	43	49	34	60	57	48	200	425	359
Percentage of pupils from low income families	N/A	58.2	59.9	61.3	66.1	67.7	65.8	67.8	70.0
Percentage of pupils scoring in reading									
85% ile	No Test Given	3.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	4.0
50-84% ile		13.0	17.0	15.0	28.0	21.0	19.0	19.0	25.0
16-49% ile		45.0	48.0	48.0	45.0	47.0	49.0	48.0	49.0
Below 16		39.0	32.0	35.0	22.0	28.0	29.0	31.0	22.0

basic maintenance. On one tour of the building with the principal, Charles Higgins, we met a district workman lugging a line of pipe into the school. He paused in his work to say: "It's hard doing this by myself. I used to have four CETA workers to assist me. No more. This whole district has only one plumber." Over the past five years the central office has made frequent cuts of maintenance personnel and funds for repairs. As a result work orders pile up and the schools begin to reflect some of the more run down aspects of the neighborhood they serve.

Composition of the Students

Racial composition of the student population as Table 52 shows has been predominately black. The current composition of the student body includes: 98% black, 1% Spanish surnamed and 1% other. In 1981 average daily attendance for students was 84.2%. The numerical range of students retained in grade for the school as a whole each June is dramatic (see Table 51). From 1972 through June 1978 the number retained ranged from a low of 34 in 1975 to a high of 60 in 1976. But a major shift occurs in June 1979 when 200 are retained; the number peaks in 1980 at 425 students. A gradual downward trend in 1981 with 359 and 1982 with 330 students retained. These statistics are atypical of most junior high schools where the retention averages are approximately under 150 per year. Typical secondary schools retain students as a last resort; rarely are they retained more than one year. Even those retained for one year as a rule are promoted the following year on the basis of age rather than academic accomplishment. Standards for passing are minimal: two majors and two minors. It is possible to pass without having passed reading or math. Polisher's standards in contrast are more rigorous. This shift away from social promotion is central to the A+ program and we will analyze the impact the policy had later in this report.

In reading achievement scores as measured by the California Achievement Test 1970 edition Polisher students show some progress during the period from 1974 to 1982. Referring again to Table 51 we note a striking decrease in students scoring below the 16th percentile. In 1974 thrity-nine percent scored below the 16th percentile, while in 1981 it was 22%. The number of students scoring between the 16th and 49th percentiles increased by nine percentage points: 45% in 1974 and 54% in 1981. As Table 51 shows achievement scores in the next band between the 50th and 85th percentiles has been unstable. The number of students scoring at or above the 85th percentile fluctuates between two and five percent over the past eight years. Polisher has significantly reduced the number of students achieving below the 16th percentile and increased the number between the 16th and 49th. It is less successful in maintaining a stable upward trend above the 50th percentile. Students achieving at or above the 50th percentile in 1982 number 24%. While Polisher can claim limited success in reading improvement, growth in math skills is less impressive. We will not present those scores in detail other than to note that in 1982 only 15% of the students scored at or above the 50th percentile. Finally to establish a standard of socio-economic status and academic achievement we mention a gradual increase in students eligible for Title I services from 58.2% in 1974 to 70% in 1981, an increase of 12%.

Table 52

Faculty Data, 1972-81, Polisher Junior High School

Category	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
Total full-time staff	93	89	92	101	100	104	109	113	115
Number of instructional staff	68	66	67	78	76	69	72	72	72
Instructional staff with less than 2 years experience	5.8	14.0	6.0	18.0	32.0	1.4	1.3	4.2	2.7
Racial composition									
% Black	N/A	69.3	66.7	62.4	61.0	58.0	54.2	52.8	52.8
% White	N/A		32.0	36.5	37.8	40.6	44.5	45.9	45.9
% Other	N/A	0.0	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3
Rate of absence	7.96	8.13	9.42	8.39	6.52	8.67	12.09	12.01	10.15

Characteristics of the Faculty

Staff at Polisher are relatively stable and mature in work experience (see Table 52). In 1981 only 2.7% of the instructional staff had less than two years of teaching experience. Of the 22 teachers interviewed 16 taught at Polisher for over ten years and six for 20 or more years. One vice-principal's entire career has been in this school--25 years. She recalls at least six other teachers who have served for even longer periods. This degree of faculty stability is atypical at the junior high where frequent staff turnover is common. The total instructional staff numbers 78. Stability and maturity of staff may be related to a sense of comfort and ease many teachers feel working at Polisher.

Faculty tend to help and support each other. They seem especially thoughtful in the way they attempt to integrate new staff. A teacher recalls his initiation.

> I suppose coming in as a new teacher, I was made very welcome by the older teachers. In turn, I took on that role with new teachers coming in. If they are near to me I'll say "I'm next door." Even though they know the discipline room is here its the idea that this person is next door. We used to have what was called a buddy system. If a new teacher came into the department, the department chairperson might say, "will you be this persons buddy?" As that persons buddy, you were constantly in touch with that person, with that person's needs, with that person's problems. It's interesting because sometimes, all a person needs is a listening ear. The person might feel awful, but after you relate the problem to someone else, then all of a sudden its not really all that awful. Administrators have not affected this tradition because most come in and tend to like what has taken place before. We have the right personalities together. Sometimes in classes you hear teachers say you don't have the right personalities together. Perhaps in this staff, we just happen to get the right personalities together.

In some ways this is a cohesive staff particularly in the exercise of discipline. They believe that effective discipline is important and they help each other maintain it in and out of class. Teachers are respectful of students. You rarely hear a teacher shout at a student. Control slips periodically. But they get back on track when reminded that discipline is a total staff responsibility. Teachers share a belief that at Polisher "we do things differently here." That phrase is echoed by students as they try to explain the school to visitors or to new students. As one teacher reports "...often they'll say, 'What kind of school's this? You're not allowed to get away with anything. You're at Polisher now and we do things differently here.'" This school is generally under control. The staff pays close attention to discipline.

Key actors in Polisher's discipline system are three grade deans, three counselors, two vice-principals, the principal and the teachers. We will have more to say about the function of discipline at Polisher when we detail the A+ program. In that discussion we will assert that the purpose of school wide attention to discipline is a form of "indoctrination" to the school/work ethic. We will also question the utility of putting so many resources and so much energy into discipline. Discipline may have become an end in itself, rather than a means toward improving student achievement.

It would be unrealistic to believe that 78 teachers all live in easy harmony--that is not the case. There are factions and splinter groups. Some split along a newer/older teacher axis; others split on racial differences and on strikes. A teacher with 20 years of experience recalled that this school once had "a kind of camaraderie throughout the building." "The teachers didn't clash among themselves and they worked to help each other." He continues:

> That was very unique and it was that way for many years. I think that it began to splinter several years ago, within the school and in our department, when we picked up a few new members. The relationship wasn't as warm and as close. There's been a turnover. When the faculties were mandated to be integrated we lost teachers and we picked up new teachers. Many of them were younger. A lot of the teachers coming into the school system around that time were coming in with a different philosophy of education. When the older teachers offered to help them as they did in past years, they were told, "hands off." They did not want to be helped. They had a new philosophy, a new approach and they didn't want to be bothered with the old methods. As a result, it splintered some of the elements within the school. The camaraderie was lost. The teachers strike aggravated it. It's not the same.

Staff are generally polite and cordial with each other but in times of severe stress some of the deeper seated problems surface. In the fall of 1981 this district suffered a 50 day teacher's strike. Strikes in this city often exacerbate racial feelings. While many black teachers are loyal unionists, some will cross picket lines. This minority believes that the unions' aims are not always in the best interest of black children. At Polisher 14 teachers crossed the picket lines--the largest number of any junior high. The principal tried to maintain a neutral stance between the factions, a stance which one teacher noted helped ease the re-entry into the school when the strike was over.

Beset with frequent strikes, budgetary crises, declining enrollments, teacher lay-offs and transfers this system developed a "seige mentality". Survival became a goal for many teachers. At Polisher both black and white teachers work hard to overcome a stressful city-wide work climate.

In addition some black teachers feel a special sense of commitment to black students. These black teachers believe that a strong black staff "makes a difference" for this community. She explains:

> Well, we are surviving and its just amazing to me that we are. We've been through so much junk in the past four years, three teacher's strikes, a janitor's strike, threats that we're going to close in May every year, changes in teachers in the middle of the year. I think our school just functions better than other junior highs. I think the kids have a stronger sense of community than other kids because essentially, kids from this particular area are the same kind of kids. I think we have a strong black staff and I think that makes a difference. The kids know that they are in charge and students know that there is no hedging one way or the other.

Her statement "they are in charge" is more than figurative. Chairs of most departments are black, as are the principal and one vice-principal. Racial tensions also influenced the appointment of the current principal Higgins. A significant portion of the faculty wanted the incumbent white vice-principal Sam Lawrence for the job. When the superintendent announced the appointment of Higgins, black and white faculty supportive of Lawrence confronted the Board of Education. They also made their displeasure public in the newspaper and television. Lawrence, who is close to retirement, claims he accepted the decision. He states that he gives Higgins his full support and respect. In a reflective mood he notes that "My own feeling is you need a black principal for this kind of school."

Teachers who supported Lawrence's candidacy for the principalship will work with Higgins, but it is an uneasy relationship. One manifestation of their dissatisfaction with the present administration may be their vivid appreciation of Higgins' predecessor, Joseph Armand. Armand left the school in 1977; yet his presence is still felt.

Former principal Armand entered the school in 1970 when the school experienced high teacher turnover, student unrest, and low levels in student achievement. A faculty member recalls Armand's first public statement:

> He had an assembly with the teachers and the children. He said he wanted a chance to show what he could do. If he was not satisfactory that was something else, but he deserves a chance to show what they can do and he wants to work along with the teachers and the staff members. Let me tell you in one year he turned this school around. He first of all, he was the broad administrator. He was able to delegate responsibilities. He had a nice way, a nice relationship with the teachers. He was interested in what was happening and he was able to get things done. He made calls downtown and things would happen. And he knew roster and he was involved in making the roster. If you wanted things done, you called Mr. Armand. He really turned over the school. We had a reading laboratory. We had a lot of innovative programs. He put in the whole reading program. It was his approach. I mean other schools have reading programs also. They all do. This was something special. He didn't go around forcing his way on you. People knew he meant business. He would not hesitate if somebody came in late all the time, he would notify them. This was what he was going to do. There's got to be an improvement. He did not hesitate to discipline taechers if that was justified.

Evidently Armand delegated most of the responsibilities related to discipline, but kept a close personal hold on curriculum. Vice-principals focused on discipline and student activities; they had nothing to do with curriculum and instruction. Key to his success was his visibility. A vice-principal describes how important being seen is to the climate of the school.

> He showed himself. He was always around the building. He was visible. He said to the vice-principals at that time: 'Whatever we're doing, even if we are in the office discussing a case with a parent. When that bell rings, that warning bell, we stop what we are doing and we take hall duty. We stop what we are doing and we show ourselves and we walk around the hallway, we take an area there and we make ourselves

> visible and we make sure the other teachers are by their [illegible]. We don't expect them to do something if we are not [illegible] to do it.' He had a couple of other good tips. Every once in a while, this was even before we had the school officers assigned full time. He'd say Officer Donovan please contact main office over the loud speaker so that people could hear. He used all kinds of gimmicks to seem to indicate that things were under control, we had an officer in the building, the building was being closely supervised. He pushed for 21's, (student disciplinary actions). He pushed to expand our alternative programs. His main thing was staying visible. He didn't go to meetings, he was in the building, he was around. We were around at that point and whatever happened we gave supervision in the building. And the teachers, it was the first time they had seen a principal walking around. He was there and they were there. They knew he meant business, he was not hiding in the office. He was out and around. If there was a parent, have the parent wait. 'I have to walk the hallways,' he'd say and that's what he was doing. He was opposed to all these meetings leaving the building. At the beginning he'd stay in the building. Of course, what he did also was that he met with the department chairs to find out what they needed. He would try to satisfy them. He would do.

Armand's forte evidently was school organization, careful monitoring and curriculum development. Some faculty credit him with helping the faculty make major gains in reading scores. In the last year of Armand's principalship at Polisher (1976-77) school scores in reading were the best of any year from 1972 through 1982. Thirty-two percent of the students scored at or above the 50th percentile. The legacy Higgins inherited when he became principal in 1977 was a school with a rising reputation for its instructional program, and a mature experienced staff divided in its opinion on the selection of the new principal.

Principal Higgins

Higgins is a black male in his forties. He's a stylish dresser. Style and taste are important to him. He is also a concerned educator.

His office reflects his taste and interests. The office decor is pleasant. Live plants hang from the ceiling. Professional periodicals are neatly piled on a conference table. Titles include standard reading fare of a working educators: Educational Leadership, Applied Strategies in Curriculum and Evaluation, and Education Digest. Interspersed between these magazines are the ubiquitous central office directives, curriculum guides and memoranda. Three paintings appear on his walls. One that faces a person entering the room depicts two sleek antelopes grazing. A sculptured head of an African woman adorns one of the bookcases. Several photographs of the principal interacting with important educators or civic leaders are posted on two of the walls. A stereo, refrigerator and various award plaques give the room a warm personal feeling tone. The man and his office make an impression.

Higgins has worked in this system since 1957 when he taught Electrical Shop at Polisher. His first certificate was in Industrial Arts. He left Polisher in 1958 to take a post in a high school as mechanical drawing teacher. Two years later he took an assignment working with children in Special Education. He developed the first experimental program in the use of the power sewing and upholstery for Special Education students. In 1967 he became the job coordinator for Special Education. In that capacity he developed field placements and supervised students on the job. It was this experience that impressed upon him the importance of appropriate work habits and attitudes for success on the job. This belief continues to influence him as he insists on a strong system of discipline throughout the school. During the four years he held this job he developed a broad perspective about the needs of the work place in various settings. Shortly thereafter he completed a Masters in Industrial Arts and Special Education Supervision as well as a certificate for the principalship. From 1973 to 1977 he served as vice-principal in several large inner city junior high schools.

At Polisher he instituted the A+ program, after visiting an elementary school that used the concept, because he felt "it would influence parents to care more about their children's progress. Parents don't feel confident to come to school. When we introduced A+ we conducted four orientation workshops for parents. About 60 parents showed each time. We taught them how to deal with homework; how to assist their child's teacher. We made it important for them to help. Just because they can't read doesn't mean they can't insist that their child read every night."

"A+ also motivated teachers to get involved in their teaching--take a strong professional stance. We insist that teachers dress like professionals."

"I try to keep in touch with teachers concerns. Sometimes we have what we call an open forum--that's a session when people air their feelings. There's a feeling here that everyone must do their job. A problem in a class or the halls will influence everybody. Even the union building representative will say publicly 'Look you're not doing your job.' I expect teachers to do their jobs and I support them more than 100%."

Shifting his attention to students he remarks that about "300 will fail a grade." By way of explanation he says, "If they don't learn it (their skills), they won't earn it (a passing grade)."

He believes in an organized curriculum. "We have plans for math, reading and English; the science department is currently developing one. We use mid-terms and finals to keep teachers on target. Teachers are required to submit detailed lesson plans each Friday. They are reviewed by the principal and the vice-principal who monitors that subject area. I insist on the use of a basic text for each grade and subject area. Our textbooks are all standardized."

Reflecting for a moment on how he uses his time he says, "I spend a lot of time dealing with parents and monitoring requisitions. What I'd really like to do is reorganize my job so that I spend one-third listening to how children respond to lessons. I want to understand how children are learning. Another third of my time I want to spend on curriculum and the last third on parents."

He feels hampered in doing his job by the constraints placed on him by the district and central offices. He often rails against those external forces. He feels they do not understnad his situation. He wants the authority to do the job the way he believes it should be done.

Higgins is involved in educational politics. He's a leading member of a powerful lobby--The Black Educator's Forum. He sometimes represents their views to the superintendent or the Board of Education. He has opinions about the district as a whole. He has solutions to offer on vexing problems that face the district. Sometimes he talks as if he is addressing a larger audience. An event we witnessed shows how he connects the larger society and Polisher. It also gives a sense of his style of operation.

Our field notes record the moment this way:

> Today was the installation of school officers. Guests included a distinguished Polisher graduate, Mr. Carlton Nelson, who is now the national director of O.I.C.'s job corps. He delivered a speech to the assembly stressing the importance of leadership, the qualities of constructive leadership and followership. He linked himself to the school remembering what it was like to be in the assembly seats these present children were sitting in. He noted that when he was a student here there was no fine orchestra as there was today. No doubt that change was a function of leadership on the part of the principal as well as the musical director. He urged students not to be passive about their education but to take their studies very seriously. He emphasized that America had become a second rate power in several areas of production. "We look to Japan and West Germany for automobiles; Italy and Spain for shoes." He expressed concern for America's future if we did not increase our productivity. To make that change possible America will need leaders. "You can be the leaders we need. Reach for it."
>
> Following Nelson's speech each new class officer was inducted by a member of the school's administration. In between the various oaths the school orchestra played spirited selections from Bach to Jazz. The ceremony concluded with the signing of James Weldon Johnson's poem Lift Every Voice. Following the program guests, administrators and student council officers retired to the library for refreshments. After the reception photographs were taken. A special picture was taken of Nelson receiving an award from Higgins in the name of the school. This photo, I was told, would be placed in the community newspaper.
>
> As he walked down the hall toward the principal's office I spoke briefly with a vice-principal and Higgins regarding academic achievement in the school. Both felt that students came poorly prepared to Polisher. The vice-principal said: "Those 7th graders, they're so poorly prepared, they bring our scores down. An entering 7th grade may have as many as 500 students on Title I. By 9th grade we reduced that number considerably."

The installation ceremonies were stirring. Bach and James Weldon Johnson stood side by side, each acknowledged for what he could do for these children. The event was polished, classy. People looked good and enjoyed it. Students at Polisher--those who are motivated and can use the school's program--get polished. The rough edges are smoothed. They learn social behavior that can be helpful in later life. They see their principal on the platform next to a successful leader who graduated from this school. Both came from backgrounds not too different from these students. This event tries to lift a student's sights a bit higher, inspire confidence that it is possible to transcend difficult social and economic burdens and make it in the larger society. The principal and Nelson are modeling how it looks. Some students will identify with these same role models. It looks possible today. For some, however, this system does not work. We're talking about 330 students who did not get promoted in June 1982. We are talking about the students who spend two, three and four years in 7th grade. These students are the rough edges at Polisher.

The A+ concept was designed to address the social and academic needs of most of the students including some of the harder to reach students. A+ was supposed to be a "different" program. What was different about it? Why were teachers so committed to it? What problems did they face in implementation? We turn now to a full description of the A+ program--its origins, the Polisher adaptation and some unsolved problems that resulted from incomplete implementation.

The A+ Program--A Reach for Integrity

The Academic Plus concept originated at Emory Elementary School within the school system. It was part of the swing away from options and experimental education "back to the basics". The school's program had several distinguishing features:

- a careful screening process to select appropriate students
- the right to dismiss students who did not conform with the program
- a dress code
- a detailed discipline code
- no social promotion
- contractual agreements among parents, students, teachers and administrators with regard to responsibilities.

It appeared to be a return to the more traditional values in the society. It was school of 40's and 50's rather than the 60's--asserting a strong statement against permissiveness and in favor of discipline and skill development in the basic areas. In current parlance an A+ school is no frills.

Two Polisher teachers brought the A+ concept to Higgins attention. One of the teacher's had a child who attended Emory. Higgins invited the principal of Emory to present the A+ concept to the Polisher staff. There was extensive faculty discusson on the merits of the idea. Because the faculty enthusiastically endorsed the new program Higgins sought and obtained approval of the district superintendent so that A+ might be implemented at Polisher. A steering committee of over 20 faculty, including department chairs and a vice-principal, were entrusted with finding an appropriate adaptation of A+ for the junior high level. A member of the steering committee describes the process as follows: "After having been exposed to the idea a couple of times..., the staff was assessed to determine their interest. I think that 90-95% expressed strong interest. By the end of the school year we began the planning and contracts were signed by staff indicating their willingness to do the kinds of things A+ involved." A smaller committee worked over the summer, without pay, to prepare a handbook which described in precise detail the responsibilities each partner was expected to perform. The introduction to the handbook sets the tone for the A+ program.

> The Academics Plus partnership will be sealed by a signed contract and carried out in action by the partners:
>
> the students of Polisher
> the parents or guardians of Polisher students
> the teaching and non-teaching staff of Polisher
> the Polisher administration
>
> The Academics Plus program is an agreement by all partners to the following actions:
>
> 1. ENFORCEMENT of a strict, consistent and fair discipline code
> 2. MAINTENANCE of a businesslike dress code
> 3. ACQUISITION of the basic skills
> 4. COMPLETION of regularly assigned homework and classwork according to specific standards
> 5. PARTICIPATION of parents in monitoring skills acquisition, work habits and behavior
> 6. ISSUANCE of Pupil Progress Reports and letters; and regularly scheduled conferences
> 7. INSISTENCE upon progress based on mastery of minimum essentials.

The handbook next takes up the discipline code which makes up half the pages in the book. Various disruptive behaviors, misdemeanors, or criminal offenses are listed and the consequences that will be taken are described. But "A+ is not just discipline," as the principal was quick to tell us. "It's the standards, grading and retention systems." A teacher volunteered that central to the academics part of A+ "... was establishing criteria for passing, pretesting and post testing and one years growth would be the means of determining whether students passed." The handbook states explicitly the kinds of responsibilities that should promote pupil progress:

1. completion of daily classwork
2. completion of homework (assigned at least 3 times per week)
3. classroom participation
4. completion of assigned projects
5. passage of 3 major tests assigned during each report period
6. passage of mid-year and final exams
7. one year of growth in reading and math.

The handbook is unique in that it makes public to all partners not only student responsibilities, but also parent, teacher and administration responsibilities. We offer a few excerpts from each of these categories to convey the tone and import of these expectations.

> Parental Responsibilities
>
> 1. Establish a quiet atmosphere for homework. Enforce study time of 1½ hours a night.
> 2. Check homework and test papers. Sign end of report period test papers.
> 3. Send students to school prepared for class and check to see that homework assignments are finished.
> 4. Emphasize attendance and punctuality.
> 5. Respond to correspondence from teachers.
>
> Classroom Teacher Responsibilities
>
> You are strongly encouraged to:
>
> 1. Project your planning from September through June; this will more likely lead to the projected pupil growth of one year.

2. Establish early and persistent contact with student's home in order to maintain satisfactory behavior, work habits and academic performance. In addition to progress reports at the end of each report period, forms are also available for communicating to parents during any report period. These "during" report forms are designed for each communication of favorable as well as unfavorable comments.
3. File and display samples of student work.
4. Maintain anecdotal records of students' work habits and behavior.
5. Notify counseling staff of persistent problems.
6. Notify activity sponsors of students in their activities whose behavior, work habits or subject grade is not passing. Failing students are not to participate in activities.

Administrative Responsibilities

By careful supervision of an extensive assistance to teachers you will act as a catalyst, who will, not only heighten teacher progress, but will also stimulate pupil progress. The administration should also:

1. Have letters sent home at the end of the 3rd report period informing parents of possible end of year failures.
2. Counsel students who are in danger of grade failure.

This last section described below presents an interdependent set of commitments and expectations. It ends with a sober, but optimistic affirmation of the new promotion standards.

MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR PROMOTION

Academics Plus will succeed because:

A. Students and parents will know in September and be periodically informed during the school year of the minimum requirements for promotion and whether or not the student is meeting those requirements.
B. Teachers will be uniform in the minimum requirements established to determine promotion. The standards will be the same for every class at every grade level.
C. The Administration will cooperate with the teaching staff in insisting that no student be promoted unless that student meets the minimum requirements for promotion.
D. To pass any subject a student must achieve an average grade of 70 or above. To progress to the next grade a student must:
    1. pass three (3) majors and three (e) minors
    2. achieve one years' growth in math and reading.

Once the handbook was completed teachers went into the community to publicize the idea. They posted copies of the handbook or a fact sheet in community centers, churches, stores to explain the program's expectations. Virtually all of the faculty signed a contract stating they agreed to support the A+ rules and activities. A+ seemed to produce a broad based consensus on how to conduct school at Polisher.

A+ was a reach for integrity. It was a call for mutual responsibility. A+ tells every partner exactly what he or she must do to succeed. It defines for parents, teachers, students and administrators what their roles must be if the end product is to be successful. It is a present oriented call to action without acknowledgment of the past. The handbook implies that if all can behave appropriately there will be success. The handbook says nothing about motivation. It assumes motivation to perform in this new and preferred manner. It assumes that the end goals are equally desired and attainable by all partners involved. The handbook assumes that if a partner signs a contract that the relationship is sealed along the lines described in the agreement. When a partner signs on he/she accepts this world as presented and will act accordingly.

A+ reflects a deep seated wish to remake the school world so that teachers will teach, students will learn, administration will supervise and monitor and parents will be supportive of the values the school espouses. It is a framework for a better world as this faculty envisages it so that children will succeed. There is something almost religious about the handbook implying a purity of relationship that sets up a moral barrier between this school and the destructive forces of the external world. While A+ at Polisher was an attempt to distinguish this school from other similar schools, in one important area it was the same: Students are assigned to the school as a function of geography.

In this A+ at Polisher is different from the original model at Emory. At Emory students apply for admission. The faculty select those students they believe can benefit from the program. These students and their parents are likely to feel motivated to succeed. If a student does not perform up to standard either socially or academically the school can require that student to withdraw from Emory. Polisher must take any student within its region who wishes to attend the school. If a student is highly disruptive, he or she may be transferred to another school. For approximately 50 students who "evidence poor attendance, socially deviant behavior and poor academic preparation," the school offers an off-site alternative school. Few of these students are mainstreamed back into the school building. But for those students who are socially compliant and academically weak the school has few options to offer. Faculty and administration agree that most of their problems in the implementation of the A+ concept stem from the fact that they cannot select their student body. This argument is often made in inner city public schools. It is equivalent to saying that good students make good schools. This kind of statement seems to provide an excuse for failing to meet the needs of those students who do not learn in a conventional instructional program.

Polisher's Promotion/Retention Policy: Expectations and Limitations

In some ways the reformed promotion/retention policy best exemplifies the idealism of A+; it also foments its most vexing and intractible problems. This faculty with few exceptions is opposed to social promotion, which is the generally practiced policy of the city wide system. Under social promotion a child need only pass two majors and two minors in order to move to the next grade. A+ set out on its own path by changing the criteria for promotion to 3 majors and 3 minors. Further it required two of the majors be reading or English and math. Thus this staff hoped to stem the wave of passing students who were incompetent in basic skills. While many faculty members are concerned about the number of students retained in grade each year, few would return to social promotion. A teacher with over a decade of experience at Polisher expresses his commitment to the A+ policy in the following excerpt recorded with one of the researchers:

How do you feel about the promotion policy? Academics plus has it's own promotion policy.

> I think it's fantastic. I think that no child should be allowed to move from one grade to the next without passing three majors and three minors. For my own personal aspect of it, I would like to see it a little more strenuous than that but for Academics Plus, I think that it is quite adequate and I don't think that any student who cannot pass three majors and three minors should be allowed to go on to another grade.

Do you feel that the promotion policy has had a positive affect on Polisher? Is it working well?

> I think so.

Are there a large number of students failing?

> Yes there are.

Do you feel that that percentage is an acceptable percentage?

> It's acceptable when you have a goal set whereby you do not wish to see students passed on from one grade to the next who are underachievers, and who cannot handle the material for the next grade. It is a crime to send a child on who does not have it.

Do you feel that because of the academics plus and promotion policy that the students are learning more than what they had previously?

> Yes and I also think they are working harder.

Other teachers are unwilling to return to social promotion which they feel is unethical but they also are uneasy about the number of failures. The following are some comments that display their ambivalence.

> "Oh, you're thirteen; you have to go on. That's crazy, at least with the students I'm dealing with. The 7th graders are so immature. They need another year just to grow up to handle sitting still much less studying about the volcanic effects and what have you. Physically they are not ready. They just can't cope with that so we instituted the new standard. Now, we're starting to find problems with that, in that we have students that have been in 7th grade for four years." (Note: In 1981-82 thirty-six students were retained for a third year and nine for a fourth year in the 7th grade.)

> We are an academics plus school which means that in our school the kids have to do a little more or pass more subjects than they do in other schools. I think in other schools they have to pass two majors/two minors. In ours three majors/three minors. Now I'm not sure whether or not it's worth it. Many of our kids that are repeating a grade are repeating it for a third or second time. I suggested that we reevaluate our promotion policy. Check on the students that were not promoted, see whether or not he was not promoted because he wasn't coming to school or was he coming to school. Is the kid there because he wasn't doing any work or was he doing his work? Is the kid a behavior problem or is he behaved? I don't know what the answer is. It seems to me our promotion policy is not working out the way I would like to see it. Nobody is going to promote the guy that doesn't do any work, and I'm not so sure that the kids really care. A lot or our students when they go to high school they'll drop out at 16. So what difference does it make if they go to junior high school and drop out at that age. I think under a promotion policy kids should not just be promoted because of age, I think it ought to be for merit, showing they can achieve something. There are so many slow learners. I teach math and there are so many kids on an elementary level in math,

> but they come to school everyday and try their best. Now should I fail them or should I give them a "D", at least they are trying and that's important too.

A third teacher expresses his frustration with a system that creates the necessity for "watered down curricula" and standards. He wonders how to establish a responsible standard for a student placed in 7th grade but functioning at a 3rd or 4th grade level. He feels caught in the confusion of distorted standards.

> Well, we work under an unrealistic atmosphere in the school district itself. It is school district policy to promote students on the basis of age rather than achievement. (Feeder) schools will send pupils that are not up to grade level and when they get into this school a decision has to be made and the decision is do we drop our standards to deal with the actual performance level of the student, do we insist that 7th grade students for instance do 7th grade work and not promote them if they do not do the 7th grade work or do we water down the curriculum? I personally am against watering down anything. On the other hand, I'm practical enough to realize that we cannot give a student a book say at the 7th grade level and expect the student with 3rd grade skills to be able to handle the book. I think what in reality happens is you modify the program anyway, you have to. The bottom line being that if the student the 7th grade student does "A" work in science; but in fact, he is doing 3rd or 4th grade science and not really 7th grade science, I don't feel it's justifiable to give that student more than a "D" or a "C" even if he is doing, what looks on paper, to be "A" work.

The issues of promotion, retention and academic standards are complex ones nested in layers of internal and external problems. In an interview with a counselor we learned some of the reasons the A+ policy is so problematic, as well as some of the solutions under discussion. Our field notes of this conversation read...

> Repeaters at Polisher are kept for one full year and are integrated with children who are taking the grade for the first time. Children are block rostered so they must repeat all subjects including those they passed. Apparently there is no

> protest from the parents and the students also accept the norm. A few students go to summer school. But the percentage is small since summer school tuition must be paid by the parents and many of Polisher's students must work.
>
> This counselor likes the fact that students are not passed on for social promotion, but feels that the current system isn't satisfactory. "We need a research and development study that would tell us more about our repeating population. Who are they? What is their family background? How do they compare with students in similar junior high schools? We simply do not keep extensive records. Now we're--the counselors--are talking among ourselves about what to do. We're saying first time repeaters are retained in grade with regular students. Second time repeaters should be grouped separately in small specialized classes. Third time repeaters should be placed at our off-site alternative school and socially promoted to high school."

Researcher: Will your suggestions become policy?
Counselor: We're talking among ourselves. Nothing's happened.

Researcher: I noticed on the faculty agenda Higgins asked the faculty to re-think the retention policy. Was that discussed?
Counselor: No. There are no simple solutions. Many of these kids should have been retained years ago in first, second grade. We inherit them. This system is not honest. There's no integrity. I can't work that way.

The counselor's last comments repeats the basic theme of the A+ venture. A+ was created to make it possible for a faculty to work together with integrity. An elaborate system of accountability was established to insure responsible behavior. But ultimately, as Polisher staff see it, the school district seems to lack integrity and some faculty question whether it is possible to stand alone. In an interview with one of the vice-principals we learned that the principal tried to get the school district to at least make it possible for the feeder schools to operate under the same standards. He was not successful.

> That's right. We're all alone--isolated. Our stand would make sense if the elementary schools would retain kids. We are

> sandwiched in between. We take the failures of the previous 6 or 7 years we have few options for them. The principal had a meeting with a man from downtown at the central office, someone interested in A+. He tried to convince him to do something about getting feeder schools to cooperate. But that guy was afraid of loosing his job. It would have to come from the District Superintendent and the Board would have to support it.

Notice that most of the discussion about the retention of large numbers of students centered on issues seemingly outside of this faculty's control--the nature of the students they receive and the nature of the system in which they work. We will list key phrases from each category culled from the data presented and other interviews not recorded in this report.

Retained Students

- lazy
- emotionally disturbed
- slow learners
- learning disabled
- sporadic attenders
- can't be helped
- do not learn from experience
- we don't know who they are
- force teachers to water down curricula

The System

- elementary school won't cope with them
- should have been retained in 1st or 2nd grade
- students come to us two and three years behind grade level
- system pushes kids in one door, out the other without regard to what a child learned
- if the rest of the system used our standards we wouldn't have these problems

Some of the faculty also recognize that a few teachers do not work as hard as they must to teach effectively. But most of the comments we heard seemed to place the problem outside the control of the faculty. They seem powerless to change it and outraged that the problem persists. Yet the retention system as it is practiced at Polisher seems punitive. After four years of experience the number of students failing is still large. Some questions arise: Why are repeaters integrated with first time students? Why must repeaters repeat subjects they passed? Why must repeaters spend 3 and 4 years in 7th grade? Why is it so difficult to make changes or accommodations in this policy? The answers we received to our questions were not satisfactory. We present what we learned.

Students are block rostered, therefore, they must take all of the subjects of that grade level. Higgins supports this notion when he says--"You took a whole year to fail; take a year to pass." The principal feels that there is insufficient data on the failing student to make a considered judgment on how to change the policy. He says he's opposed to keeping them in the same classes with the students taking the grade for the first time. The principal feels that students repeating a 3rd or 4th time should receive psychological testing for potential placement in special education classes. However, there is only one psychologist who does this kind of testing for the district in which Polisher is located. Since the psychologist's services must be distributed over 30 schools only a few of the most pressing cases will be evaluated. The principal says he wants some input from the faculty and counselors before he is willing to change the policy. He hoped the faculty would discuss the problem during the mid-March open forum. The counselor remarked that the problem of failing students was not discussed. The principal asked the faculty to discuss the problem of repeaters in late April in grade level meetings. Some discussions did occur, but by the end of the school year no change was recommended.

While we believe that Polisher's solutions to the problems created by its retention policy are punitive, especially to 3rd and 4th time

Table 53

Comparison by Grade of Polisher Achievement Scores
California Achievement Tests, 1970 Edition

	Percentage of Students Scoring								
	16th Percentile			16th to 49th			At or Above 50th Percentile		
	Read Total	Math Total	Language Total	Read Total	Math Total	Language Total	Read Total	Math Total	Language Total
Grade 7 1980	34	40	28	47	39	44	19	21	28
Grade 8 1981	18	30	15	49	50	50	33	20	35
Grade 9 1982	18	37	N/A	57	49	N/A	25	14	N/A

repeaters we do not want to suggest that the faculty or administration is callous. They are not. They feel caught. They try to cope by working with the students they get. They offer extensive tutoring services before and after school and they do reach out to parents for help and support. Several teachers note that they see progress over time. They see a drop in repeaters and a drop in students eligible for Title I by 9th grade. The faculty points to these results as justification for retaining the present program. Table 54 displays a three year sequence of CAT scores in reading and math. The data starts with a 7th grade class and follows it through 9th grade.

These data show student progress over a three year period. By 9th grade 25% of the students are scoring at or above the 50th percentile in reading (see Table 53), while the number of students performing below the 16th percentile has been reduced by 16 percentage points. Do these improvements make this an effective or successful school for minority students? Venezsky and Winfield (1979) and Winfield (1982) in two studies defined successful elementary schools as "...those urban and low SES schools which had fifty percent or more of students at each grade level reading at or above national norms on standardized reading achievement tests." (Winfield, 1982, p. 1) Polisher does not approach the Venezsky and Winfield standard at any grade level; neither do any other low SES minority junior high schools in this city. The Polisher faculty and administration, with few exceptions, believe it is an effective school. They cite the humane treatment of students and the modest improvement of scores as evidence of success in a system that they believe makes it difficult to succeed.

The Exercise of Instructional Leadership

In describing the A+ program we have emphasized the contractual nature of the agreements between student, teacher, parent and administration. We took one key policy from the handbook, the promotion/retention criteria, and examined the kinds of problems it generated. We saw the negative results of striking out on a path that no other school accepted and the apparent ambivalence this staff feels about making adjustments and accommodations to change the situation for those who fail. We have said little about efforts to improve the quality of instruction at the classroom level, and we turn now to that critical issue. In this section we will look at how the school is organized to maintain and improve the quality of instruction. We will examine these questions: Who are the instructional leaders? What do they do? How does their leadership affect the quality of instruction? Answers to these questions emerge by understanding how the formal and informal organizational structures support or hinder the instructional program.

The key actors in the instructional program are the principal, the vice-principals, the department chairs, district or central office supervisors and the classroom teachers. At Polisher the principal sees himself as the final arbiter of policy decisions related to the instructional program. He says he is the instructional leader of the school. But he does not involve himself in day to day monitoring or supervision of the program. Those responsibilities are delegated to two vice-principals. Each vice-principal is responsible for approximately half of the departments or subject areas in the school. Vice-principals review the lesson plans the faculty submit each Friday. They attend regularly scheduled department meetings. If they are unable to attend a department meeting, they read the minutes of the meeting so that they can inform the principal of progress or emerging concerns. Department chairs in turn report to the vice-principals. Once a month all department chairs meet with the principal to discuss instructional matters. District and central office subject area specialists and supervisors also work with individual teachers, departments or the entire faculty. Contact with these external resources is made through the principal or vice-principal--occasionally through a department chair. The principal and vice-principals are each expected to make formal and informal observations. All three supervise discipline issues. The vice-principal appears to be the key conduit of information to and from the principal-to and from the department chairs. In addition, the three full-time disciplinarians or deans function as grade chairs who promote communication across departments in relation to issues that concern a whole grade.

Principal as instructional leader

First we will look at how this faculty views Higgins' role as the instructional leader. The faculty generally credits Higgins with setting a tone which emphasizes the purpose of the school. A teacher involved in curriculum development at Polisher states:

> Higgins, from the start, has emphasized the need for getting back to basics, for making demands of our students and demanding of us that we work towards utilizing our potential to its fullest and to get the students to do the same kind of thing. And the whys and the wherefores of it.

A teacher active in union affairs lists the reasons she thinks Higgins qualifies as a viable instructional leader.

> He has pushed for a uniform curriculum in a school system that went in 1,000 different directions in the '70's--one curriculum. He has pushed consistency in grading standards. He has impressed upon us that we should not give students a break; in other words, he once said if they didn't learn it--they didn't turn it.

In addition to pushing for consistency in grading and standardization of curricula and texts at least two teachers credit him with taking a personal interest in what happens in classrooms.

> Well, he has insisted that we follow the curriculum guides that are provided from the board. He has in fact, monitored classes and lesson plans and so forth. He's very much interested in how things are taught and what is being taught.
>
> .....
>
> Well teachers who don't know how he tells you how to make lesson plans, he shows you how he has seen to it that every teacher has a set of the competencies expected in your discipline. He sees to it that each teacher has the curriculum that is expected to be taught at your grade level. He further sees to it that the vice-principals check your lesson plan each week and comments are made with your lesson plan and of course that is directed from Higgins that the vice-principals do it. I would say he is an instructional leader.

These comments are discrepant with the perceptions of other teachers whom we will cite later. They see Higgins as having little on going connections with classroom teachers.

A few teachers were rather vague in response to our question about the instructional leaders in this school. At least two were hesitant. One said, "I guess the principal would be." Another said, "I suppose he heads the entire school. I know as head he sets the policy, I suppose." She felt that departmental chairs knew more about how the principal functioned in regard to instruction. The vague responses we got from a couple of teachers may be related to a theme we picked up in at least three interviews--the discrepancy between what's on paper and what's actually done. One teacher generalizes her feelings about the administration's role in the instructional program by saying, "I think they are interested but they are not involved. There is a tremendous emphasis on writing things down and there are files and files on what you (must) do, but nobody comes to see what you are doing."

Another teacher raises a similar issue. He sees the principal as very demanding. But the demands seem to lack depth and immediacy.

> I don't know...He demands certain things. I don't know if that's really being a leader, but he does demand a lot of things. I don't think one person can be the complete instructional leader, I think it can be, but it has to filter down to the right people and you have to have people in each curriculum, really understand the curriculum, then bringing it down even further.

Other teachers agree that the principal is probably too distant from the teaching process to be helpful in the classroom. Further, at least four felt that if the principal lacked in depth knowledge in their subject area it could be difficult for him to advise or lead them. Their reactions comfirmed Gorton's (1971) finding that "...perceived expertise appears to be the most important factor influencing the likelihood that a teacher would approach..." a staff member for instructional assistance (p. 326). At the secondary level instructional expertise is often attributed first to the department chair (Gorton, 1971). A teacher at Polisher gives her reasons for nominating the department chair as the best source for teacher assistance on instructional problems.

> Well it could be the administration if they have the background. Higgins' background is in the workshop--shop teacher. I don't know how much he knows about Math, History and English. It depends on the background of the administrator whether or not they should; it should be in their hands. I think it could be the department chairman. They're responsible for each department to see that they get books. They might be a better source for leadership than the administration. They know the problems the teachers are having and what should be taught. Alot of these administrators have been out of the classrooms for awhile and do not know--they know what's going on but may not be doing everything they possibly can to improve the structure. The department chairman might be the best source for the solution.

Another reservation several faculty members expressed concerned Higgins' visibility and accessibility. They contend that he's out of the building too often and not visible in the halls or classrooms. Two teachers comment on this concern. The first is a senior member of the staff; the second has been at Polisher for four years.

> ...he's got, I think, too many coals in the fire. He's got too many other things going for him and he is not as accessible to some important people in this building. I think, you will agree, that no principal by himself can run a school, even if he is the greatest principal-greatest administrator in the world, if he has a staff that is not working with him 100%, he's not going to be 100% effective. I think Higgins' greatest drawback is his inaccessibility. I don't know that he is never accessible, but very often he is not here when you need him. I don't know whether it is by his choice or because the powers that be downtown or at the district office are constantly calling him out of the building. I think that inaccessibility is perhaps the biggest fault I can find with Higgins.

.....

> He's never around. He's not here more than he's here. He's out of the building a lot and I think he would be a lot more effective if instead of coming into the halls with his bull-horn trying to get kids out of the halls,--if he were in the halls three or four times a day it would help us, not once every other day with his bullhorn. More visible to the students, knew more about what was happening. Maybe he does and maybe I'm wrong, but I think he needs to be more visible and then teachers would be more apt to go to him.

Table 54

Teacher Perception of Principal Higgins Hall Monitoring

Number of Times Daily Principal Monitors Pupil Hall, Cafeteria Behavior	Number Responding	Percentage
4 or more	20	28.57
2 or more	15	21.43
1	12	17.14
0	10	14.29
Uncertain	13	18.57
Total	70	

Data Source: Additional Information Survey

> Like, if you saw him in the halls and would say Higgins--deal with him like we deal with the counselors and the Dean of students, it would be even better.

A teacher with over ten years experience in the school summarizes the feeling expressed by others regarding Higgins' visibility. In a reflective mood he states:

> Even though it slipped a little, it's still a great school. I'm not sure of the reason, but may be one of the reasons is that Higgins is not around enough. He's out of the building too much. He's a very impressive man. He could do a lot more. He will back you, he will back teachers; he's very good in that respect. But he should do more, he should get on that loud speaker more, be in the halls more, his presence should be felt. He's a leadership type, ...a good solid person. (But) He doesn't do enough... at least in the school. I don't know what he does outside the school. He may do some things there, but not in the school, where it really counts. In Armand's earlier years, he was in the school all the time....later on he was even out more than he should...sometimes you have to be out maybe, I don't know. Most of the time you have to be here. If you want people to follow you, you got to be leading.

Faculty comments about Higgins' visibility were divided in our interviews. Feelings were strong on both sides. The results of our survey conducted in May 1982 indicate that 67% of the staff saw Higgins last year at least once a day monitoring the halls and cafeteria, while 33% never saw him or feel uncertain of his presence in those locations (see Table 54, p. 236). Our own observation of the principal during eight whole days (6 hours duration) show that he generally made one tour of the building per day. On our half day observations we seldom saw him tour the building.

While Higgins does make at least one tour of the building per day, several teachers feel that his presence is not felt in the halls and cafeteria. They feel he could be more supportive of their school wide

Table 55

Number of times Principal Higgins Observed Classroom Last Year

Number of Times Teacher Reports Being Observed Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
More than 3	12	19.05
2	13	20.63
1	7	11.11
0	31	49.21
Total	63	

Data Source: Additional Information Survey

responsibility of maintaining order and discipline if he were more visible in those locations. Two teachers suggest that Higgins' extensive involvement in educational politics may take him away from the school and thereby weaken his effectiveness as a leader. This concern is probably heightened for faculty who recall the previous principal's emphasis on the visibility of all administrators.

A second way a faculty senses the personal presence and involvement of the principal occurs when he or she makes observations of classroom teaching. Our survey data indicate that 51% of the teachers said that Higgins visited their classrooms to observe their teaching; 49% said he did not observe them (see Table 55, p. 238). Data collected during the researchers' observation of the principal confirm the survey data. During the 15 half- or whole-day observations, he made a total of three classroom visits to observe teaching. All three visits were about ten minutes' duration. Based on one of those visits he filled out a check list evaluation critical of the teachers performance. Making teacher observations and evaluations is not a top priority for Higgins. He delegates most of that responsibility to his vice-principals. He contributes to the effort but does not provide leadership by doing them frequently (see Table 56, p. 240). He suggests that "it is a waste of (his) time to do observations other than to build a case for unsatisfactory performance."

Higgins does require teachers to prepare weekly lesson plans. Few junior high principals make this requirement of their teachers. Most are satisfied if teachers write a couple of emergency plans which can be

Table 56

Principal Higgins' Instructional Leadership Profile

Factor	Mean	Number
Coordinates and supports instruction	.53	
Observes and evaluates teachers	.99	
Establishes an academic climate	1.27	
Establishes goals and responsibilities	1.20	
Allocates resources	.86	
Total		71

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

Table 57

Number of Times Principal Higgins Requested Lesson Plans Last Year

Number of Times Lesson Plan Requested Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
10 or more	39	65.00
6 - 9	0	
2 - 5	4	6.67
1	5	8.33
None	12	20.00
Total	60	

Data Source: Additional Information Survey

given to a substitute on days the regular teacher is absent. Higgins encountered considerable resistance to his demand. Many Polisher teachers who have taught at the school for ten or more years felt it was pointless to require lesson planning. They felt that they were experienced in teaching their subject areas and lesson planning was an imposition which made for more paper work and in their view had little benefit in improving instruction. Several teachers complained that the lesson plan forms encouraged cryptic, sketchy plans and they would prefer submitting the detailed lessons they write in detail and actually use. Other teachers accepted Higgins order as a reasonable request or as something that had to be done. A few stated that filling out the forms weekly had forced them to plan more carefully. We asked (see Table 57, p. 241) teachers the number of times the principal requested lesson plans last year. Sixty-five percent said that they were requested ten or more times, while 20% said that he did not request them and eleven did not answer the question. Lesson plans are due in the office each Friday as an established routine. Some of the disparity in teacher responses may be due to residual resistance to turning them in.

Overall instructional leadership on an active daily basis is not Higgins' top priority. However, he does make a useful contribution to the instructional program by "establishing an academic climate" (see Table 56, p. 240). On memoranda and in meetings he urges staff to keep a strong sense of discipline so that effective instruction may be possible. Repeatedly we heard from teachers that Higgins backs them 100% on discipline. He also prides himself in being "a back to the basics man".

Table 58

Faculty Perception of Principal Higgins' Priorities

Rank Order	Area of Responsibility	Mean[a]	Number
1			
2	Instructional Leadership	2.531	65
	School/District/Central Office Relations	2.915	65
3	School Community Relations	3.065	70
	Student Relations	3.065	70
	Business Management	3.246	65
4			
5			

Data Source: Additional Information Survey

[a] 1 = highest priority; 5 = lowest priority

He emphasizes in contacts with students that school is not play. His endorsement of the rules and responsibilities expressed in the A+ Handbook his beliefs confirm his commitment to the maintenance of a strong academic climate.

He also is perceived as making a contribution to leadership in establishing goals and responsibilities (see Table 56, p. 240) and in initiating these activities:

- Instituted plans for major subject areas
- Reformed the grading and promotion system
- Standardized texts--one text for each subject area
- Instituted new lesson plan format
- Required mid-year and final exams be keyed to subject area plans and texts.

In reviewing the data on Table 58 which displays a profile of faculty perception toward the principal as an instructional leader we note that in four out of the five factors he is seen as making a contribution and in one factor he neither leads nor contributes. Overall the SOIL survey suggests that he makes a contribution to instructional leadership but is not a strong instructional leader. These perceptions receive further validation when we look at the way the faculty assigns a rank order to their perception of Higgins' priorities (see Table 58, p. 243). The faculty did not assign any of the five areas of responsibility to first place. Instructional Leadership and School/District/Central Office Relations tied for second place with the former taking lead over the later in that position. The remaining areas of responsibility cluster in third place in descending order of priority--School Community Relations, Student Relations and Business Management.

Vice-principals as instructional leaders

At Polisher the two vice-principals are expected to be initimately involved in monitoring the instructional program. Dr. Barrett, one of the vice-principals, sees Higgins "as a strong curricular man". He's set up a structure, in her opinion, that "leaves nothing to chance". However, he has clearly delegated responsibility for supervision to the vice-principals. Barrett feels free to make the decisions she feels are necessary. Our field notes record her sense of confidence and autonomy.

Researcher: I'm interested how the decisions get made regarding the instructional programs. Are there certain decisions only Higgins makes? Are there others that you as vice-principal would make? Are they delineated in some way?
Vice-Principal: Higgins says that whatever I say he will back me up.... I can make any decisions that I want to now. If I have any questions before I make the decisions I will discuss it with him. But just ordinarily whatever I say, he will back me up with the staff, with parents, he will never go over me. He said I might be wrong, wrong as hell but I will stick by you.

Researcher: He delegated the responsibility to you, it's yours and you do it.
Vice-Principal: The best I can.

Researcher: You confer but it sounds like you've got a lot of autonomy.
Vice-Principal: I do. I can do anything I want to.

As we noted in the previous section Higgins shares the responsibility for observations and evaluations of teachers with the vice-principals. In a conversation with Higgins he described how he assigns a priority need for teacher observations. Because substitutes have the least experience "they are checked on everyday. New teachers, weak teachers and long-term substitutes are observed regularly". Polisher has 12

Table 59

Number of Times Polisher Vice-Principals Observed Classroom Last Year

Number of Times Teacher Reports Being Observed Last Year	Number Responding	Percentage
More than 3	10	16.39
2	11	18.03
1	17	27.87
0	23	37.70
Total	61	

Data Source: Additional Information Survey

long-term substitutes (4 math, 2 science, 1 reading, 1 English, 4 special education). Higgins implied that "these people keep our vice-principals very busy doing observations".

According to one vice-principal Higgins sets up a table of observations twice a year. Each administrator is expected to do 10 each semester. So it is possible that a teacher would be observed approximately once every other year. Many teachers said they were observed at irregular intervals. And two experienced teachers noted they had never been observed. The general impression we get is that vice-principals follow Higgins' priorities closely and have little time to observe teachers who are performing moderately well or better. Our survey data show that 62% of the teachers report they were observed one or more times last year; 38% say they were not observed (see Table 59, p. 246).

In March of 1982 the principal called the faculty together for an Open Forum. Evidently several faculty members had expressed concern about the school program and wanted a chance to air their feelings. In the course of this meeting statements were made on a variety of subjects mostly dealing with the improvement of student discipline and tighter control in the halls. At least two staff members felt that the administration should be more active in monitoring weaker teachers and suggested the need for more observations. In a follow-up meeting with his vice-principals Higgins urged the vice-principals to make more observations. The vice-principals agreed. Six weeks later we continued to probe for the reasons it was still so difficult for administrators to make observations. The following conversation occurred between one of our researchers and a vice-principal at Polisher.

Researcher: Why is it so hard to get into the classroom to observe?

Vice-Principal: It's very time consuming. It takes 40-50 minutes to observe. An hour to write up. Then I like to hold on to it a day or two to mull over my reactions. Then I hand deliver it to the teacher. In some instances a conference may be desired by either party. That might mean involving union representation. Then finding a mutually convenient time can be frustrating. These are so many competing priorities that can get in the way.

Researcher: Do you know any vice-principals or principals in this system who observe regularly?

Vice-Principal: Well I'm taking this Executive Institute and the instructor was absent. So we all talked among ourselves and the topic of observation came up. One principal said that he and his vice-principals do five observations each per week.

Researcher: How do they find the time?

Vice-Principal: They set different priorities. Now we are doing more observing. It isn't the full 50 minute type, but more of a quick check up. (She shows me a new check list for observation.) This form came into being because the staff asked for more administrative supervision so now they've got it.

Researcher: How long have you been doing this?

Vice-Principal: A few weeks.

In a similar vein we pursued the same questions with the other vice-principal.

Researcher: In many ways this is a good school. Teachers care about kids. Discipline is strong and supportive. Teachers stand in the halls when classes pass; 3 Deans handle discipline all day for each grade; three counselors, 2 vice-principals and the principal are all engaged in maintaining order. Everything is in readiness for the academics. Now let's look at the Math Department. You've got two or three certified teachers, two of whom are outstanding and the rest long-term substitutes (I got this impression from the Math supervisor). You're supposed to monitor the math program. They need your help. How often can you work with them?

Vice-Principal: Not often.

Researcher: Five or 10% of your time?
Vice-Principal: That's right. I'm swamped with paper work and discipline problems.

Researcher: I know you are, but I don't understand. So many people are working on discipline.
Vice-Principal: Look, it takes all of us just to keep the lid on. Between watching the substitutes, handling special education placements, building repairs and discipline problems it leaves little time for instruction. It's possible that Higgins could take me off of all that other work. But it would fall back on me. It's a system problem. You have a department chair who has no authority so it falls on the vice-principal and we simply don't have the time.

This vice-principal makes three points that are instructive. He supports the other vice-principal's contention that vice-principals could make more observations if that became a school priority mandated and monitored by the principal. Second he feels that discipline is so complex that it requires constant attention by many key people to maintain a well disciplined climate. Finally he suggests that the department chair might be able to do the job but lacks the authority or time. Recall that teachers, too felt that department chairs because of their more initimate knowledge of a particular subject area and of their colleagues needs could therefore be helpful.

The results of our survey, Sources of Instructional Leadership, offer a profile of how the staff perceives the vice-principal's role as instructional leaders. In four out of six factors the faculty credits the vice-principals as making a contribution to leadership by improving the use of instructional materials, by directing and supporting instruction, by communicating an academic emphasis, and by maintaining an academic climate. They provide leadership in observing and evaluating

Table 60

Polisher Vice-Principals' Instructional Leadership Profile

Factor	Mean	Number
Directs and supports instruction	.74	
Maintains academic climate	1.17	
Improves instruction	.68	
Organizes resources	.50	
Observes and evaluates teachers	1.38	
Communicates academic emphasis	.88	
Total		71

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

teachers. They neither lead nor contribute in the area of organizing resources (see Table 60, p. 250).

Lawrence seems completely swamped with discipline problems, Special Education placements and building repairs. He has little time to supervise or direct the instructional program. Barrett says that about 50% of her time is devoted to the instructional program, with the remaining time given to general management tasks including discipline. In interviews teachers and department chairs frequently said they deferred to the vice-principals if they had instructional questions or concerns. Faculty responses on the SOIL survey indicate that vice-principals are seen as useful contributors to the instructional program but they assert leadership in only one area. Certainly one of the reasons they do not lead can be traced to the fact that they do much "catch up and clean up" work. Their jobs are not organized so that instructional supervision is their top priority.

Department chairs as instructional leaders

We learned from several teachers that the department chair should be a natural choice as instructional leaders. Teachers sense that department chairs understand their needs and therefore are in a position to make credible suggestions. Their perceptions appear to be statements of what some teachers wish might be the case rather than what is.

The role, as it is currently defined, is so weak and ambiguous that the department chair functions as a clerk or at best as a peer without administrative authority. One chairperson at Polisher describes the chair's situation and function this way:

> The distribution, collection of textbooks, seeing to teachers' requests for supplies, formulating a Department Plan and to some extent seeing that it is carried out. Basically, leading department meetings. There is very little control a junior high school chairman in any area has over the people that are working in the department. There is no time allotment to observe teachers; then again, there is not a special test given to designate a chairperson in junior high school which is possibly why the responsibilities are limited to mostly administrative kinds of things--not even administrative, because an administrator can observe teachers. But the department chairperson in a junior high school has very--almost clerical duties, because, again there is no tests, but by the same token you can't tell a teacher what to do because you're an equal and not a superior. So, you make suggestions or you talk to someone to help them out or point something out. They can listen and they can choose to follow your advice or not. It's a very strange position--there's a lot of responsibility and there is really no compensation. The only thing you get in this role is having no advisory (homeroom).

The profile data we collected on how staff views the department chair's influence in instructional leadership supports the widely held belief that it is a weak role. In two out of the five factors--"Improves the use of Instructional Materials" and "Clarifies Instructional Direction"--department chairs contribute to the instructional program. But they neither provide leadership nor contribute to leadership in projecting an academic emphasis, securing resources, and in developing collegial relationships (see Table 61, p. 253).

In some departments where the chair is perceived as weak faculty will ignore the chair and go directly to the vice-principal in charge of the subject area. One of our researchers asked a teacher working at Polisher for the last three years whom she sought out for help when she had an instructional problem.

Table 61

Polisher Department Chair
Instructional Leadership Profile

Factor	Mean	Number
Improves use of instructional materials	.74	
Projects an academic emphasis	.47	
Secures resources	.34	
Develops collegial relationship	.35	
Clarifies instructional direction	.84	
Total		71

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

> Barrett. I tend avoiding to go to Carter (the department chair) only because I get the feeling that she goes to Barrett anyway. She doesn't seem to mind us going to Barrett, she refers us to Barrett any time there's a problem so I just go to her with whatever problems I have.

Admittedly a stronger chair might find ways to transcend the limitations of a poorly defined role. Also, a cohesive department which has worked through its instructional program cooperatively might be able to run itself with little need for frequent supervision. A veteran science teacher describes the way his department maintains consistency and uniformity in what is taught in 9th grade.

> Departmentally we try to be as consistent as possible with each other. We try to keep the classes more or less together, utilizing the same text books. So if there happens to be any transfer of students in the school, the worse that can happen is that they would be a chapter or two off. That's what we try to do. We also have what is called departmental testing. So within the department we have our own mid-terms and our own finals. This way we know whether or not the kids are up to par with each other and more or less what grade. Individual tests for the chapters the teachers have to give on their own. There are certain units where we have the same tests for every teacher. For example, we wrote up our own ninth curriculum. Ninth grade science is not a mandatory program. We have our own curriculum and within that curriculum of ninth graders we have what we call our own rat study. There we have constant quizzes and tests which are identical. Every single class gets the same thing. That's the area of testing as far as the text books are concerned.

In this department it seems possible for teachers to make a plan and execute it with consistency. But in less cohesive departments plans and actuality are less than identical. In the reading department they too produce plans but that does not mean they have a consistent or unified approach. This department is at odds with its chair. They frequently circumvent her requests or ignore her. We asked the vice-principal in charge of the reading department how she monitors compliance with the

Table 62

Leadership Score for Polisher Reading and Math Specialists

Factor	Mean	Number
Improves instructional materials	.28	
Improves instruction	.15	
Supports academic emphasis	.34	
Develops direction of instruction	.28	
Structures program	.21	
Supports coordination of instruction	.32	
Total		71

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

Table 63

Leadership Scores for Polisher Teachers

Factor	Mean	Number
Develops learning climate	.88	
Supports colleagues	.18	
Organizes program	.37	
Relates to direction of instruction	.54	
Coordinates with colleagues	.26	
Develops instructional materials	.34	
Total		71

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

Table 64

Summary Factor Scores for Polisher Leadership Roles

Role	Total Mean Score
Principal	.97
Vice-principal	.89
Department chairs	.55
School based math and reading specialists	.26
Teachers	.43

Provides leadership = 2.0 - 1.34
Contributes to leadership = 1.33 - 0.67
Neither provides nor contributes to leadership = 0.66 - 0

Data Source: SOIL

plan. Her response was candid.

> Well that's hard to say. There is a reading plan. I do read each teacher's weekly lesson plan. I also receive feedback from the department chair on her response to the lesson plans. On paper it looks like they're complying. But there's no way to know without getting into the classroom regularly.

Paper plans cannot tell an administrator what is going on in the classroom. The administrator understands what is actually happening only when he or she enters the classroom, observes and subsequently begins to talk about the observation with the teacher; and yet the need for making teachers accountable on paper persists.

In concluding this section we look briefly at how the faculty perceived the roles of school based reading and math specialists, and teachers in the exercise of instructional leadership. Table 62 shows that this faculty does not see school based math and reading specialists as providing leadership or contributing to leadership in relation to any of the factors listed. The faculty does credit teachers however with contributing to leadership in the area of developing a climate for learning (see Table 63). The summary scores for each role surveyed by the SOIL instrument (see Table 64) does not show one role providing strong leadership in the school. Both the principal and vice-principals are perceived, somewhat equally, as contributing to leadership; and department chairs, school based math and reading specialisits and teachers neither provide nor contribute to leadership at Polisher.

Interventions to Improve Instruction and Their Effects

So far we have examined the roles of the principal, the vice-principal and department chair as they attempt to exercise instructional leadership at Polisher. Central issues like visibility, credibility, use of time and lines of authority were discussed from the perception of each of the key actors. Now we present two examples, Pacing and Mastery Learning, which we think illustrate some of the problems this faculty faces when it tries to implement a change in the instructional program. Both examples were attempts on the part of the principal to use a district or central office specialist to initiate change through staff development.

During our study the principal invited the district reading supervisor to show teachers how to use a planning procedure called Pacing. Developed by Venezsky at the University of Delaware, pacing is a process which requires the teacher to predict how long it may take for children to master a unit. Then teachers pace their instruction to meet their anticipated goal. The method supposedly encourages teachers to use time more efficiently and thereby permit children to cover more material. The idea is being used widely in elementary schools within Polisher's district. Higgins thought that pacing might be beneficial for his reading staff. The initial reception was poor. Barrett, who monitors the reading department, tells what happened as she responds to a statement we made.

Researcher:	I get the impression that they are a competent group of professionals, but that they resist leadership. They're going to go their own way.
Vice-Principal:	That's right. We had the district supervisor come in to give a demonstration lesson and illustrate how to use "pacing". The teachers were upset. They felt it was demeaning to be told how to teach. Some said: 'Look I've been teaching 20-30 years what can she teach me.' Now we have insisted on pacing. Teachers do turn the charts in but you can only write them up if they refuse to turn the chart in. You can not discipline them if they do not in fact keep pace. So it's hard to know what pacing does.

The principal, however, believes that pacing can make a difference in how teachers teach; he sees it as a modest way to make teachers more accountable. Following the disappointing staff development session, Higgins continued to insist that the reading teachers do pacing. He asked parents to monitor teachers' use of the technique when they made classroom observations. Our field notes reconstruct Higgins' argument for pacing as he talks to members of the school's Title I Advising Team.

> "I want you to notice if teachers are doing the pacing which the union has objected to. I believe that not doing pacing hurts students progress. Pacing is being done nationally. If pacing is not implemented then you don't know how well children are progressing. Their evaluators can't adequately know what students are doing. I don't feel the union should have anything to do with the curriculum. With teachers not doing pacing its going to hurt our children tremendously. If I pace I know where children are. I can tell where one child is in relation to another. Teachers are destroying themselves. They don't know what children are doing. Some teachers don't want to turn in a lesson plan. Some don't like the standardized texts. It's not the texts fault; it's that they're not teaching. If you see a teacher sitting at a desk you know they're just dispensing work; they're not teaching. How much direct teaching is done?"

This meeting turned from an information sharing session into an impassioned plea for parents to monitor teacher compliance in doing pacing. Higgins is upset with teachers for resisting his demand and that seems to trigger his resentment over past scores. We wonder whether parents can be more successful in demanding teacher compliance than was the administration. Teachers, like any other workers know how to sabbotage the bosses demands if they feel they are unwarranted. They will do the minimum to avoid a ruckus. They will submit the weekly lesson plans, but not take them seriously. They will turn in the pacing charts, but not feel obligated to reevaluate their teaching if they do not meet their goals. Teaching they believe is their domain. They might welcome suggestions, but they will resist demands. This is especially true of a seasoned staff who has been moderately successful in raising student scores on standardized tests.

In this example we see a common organizational conflict between staff who perceive themselves as having the professional expertise to solve their own problems and line authority who are legally responsible for monitoring professional performance. Of course one way to mediate this conflict would be to have those with line authority exercising their instructional leadership in classrooms, but in this case they are not.

Pacing was introduced to the reading staff early in 1932. There was teacher resistance at first; now there appears to be half hearted compliance. Mastery Learning, unlike pacing, was introduced to the entire faculty in 1980. It was the only time since the writing of the A+ Handbook that this faculty as a whole considered making a school-wide change in their classroom teaching. Initially there was interest in exploring the idea. But soon interpersonal tensions within the faculty and confusion about lines of authority thwarted an effort toward change. This event may be a pivotal event marking a break in the spirit of interdependence and collaboration within the staff and between staff and administration.

We offer three views of what happened to Mastery Learning (ML): The first represents the perspective held by several teachers; the second represents the point of view of Anderson, the central office supervisor, who conducted the ML staff development; the third is the view of Reynolds, who was chair of the A+ Steering Committee at the time ML was introduced to the Polisher faculty. We start with the first teacher's comments.

> Last year we had staff development on mastery learning which was very poorly received. A lot of people, I guess, are resistant to new ideas and I think that's what staff development should be, so we really don't have much staff development and when there does come along something that is a real opportunity for staff development it hasn't went over well.
>
> Well, I can only talk about this last year in this instance because in recent years, it's about the only one I can think of that was really a true staff development. I really don't remember the details about how it got here, but I think there was a consensus asked for by the whole staff that they would be willing to accept a staff development on mastery learning. And supposedly there was a general yes, they wanted to learn more about it.
>
> I know that one of the people who became very actively vocal in favor of mastery learning was a person on the staff that is not too popular, and he is a very difficult individual and who after the meeting, he just set himself up as--you had to be there to see it--because this person has the attitude that he is a supreme teacher and no one can even attempt to be anywhere near what he does and he is just a very difficult person to get along with. And as the things were presented and the steps for mastery learning and the monitoring and the testing and re-testing and all the things that go in it, people were told that they must do it.
>
> Well, they weren't told that they must do it in the fact that everyone sort of got together and said well I'm not doing it--who is he to tell me what I have to do or that I have to participate; I haven't said I would participate. I just said I wanted to know more about it. But it started at the point--yes, we want to hear about it and from that point it went to yes, I will participate, I will be evaluated and it changed completely from a staff development which is just to present material and then maybe. In other words, it was presented, but after it was presented it wasn't asked--well, do you think this would work? or do you want to try it? And then it came to the next step--go out and do it, and people were not willing to do it for one reason or another or some people said, well, I

> already do something like that. It became a very personality based thing because the person who was charging everyone else to use the mastery learning or else--not or else--he had no authority really, but just saying if you're not using it you're not teaching properly, that sort of thing. As it turned around, he wasn't using it either.

Researcher: At anytime did Higgins or Barrett or Lawrence say that it had to be used--did anyone in authority say that it had to be used?
Response: No, but they came very close. They asked you to develop in your department certain things that could be used from a mastery learning point of view. So, we spent time in department meetings on mastery learning and it was all for nothing. We wasted time. There was no real understanding of what we were supposed to do.

In an interview with the central office supervisor, Lionel Anderson, who led the staff development in Mastery Learning, we got a difficult point of view. In June, 1980 Higgins met with Anderson to discuss the possibility of ML for Polisher. Subsequently, Anderson made a presentation to the A+ Steering Committee. Robert Reynolds, chair of the A+ Steering Committee surveyed the faculty to assess interest. Reynolds reported that faculty opinion could be summarized by these three points in a memo to Anderson.

1. The science department felt that its program already reflected the use of a Mastery Learning methodology.

2. Others said: "It's a perfect marriage between the two (meaning the situation extant as a result of A+ and the need to help failing students). It offers one way to cut failures and pull students up to grade level."

3. In Title I reading, students cannot get above a "C" so they never can become Mastery Learners. But I do not see this as a problem.

Subsequently, about ten teachers volunteered to take nine hours of training in ML in late June. In the Fall of 1980 three school-wide workshops occurred. In the final workshop, Anderson presented the rationale and methodology associated with ML. Then two staff members, one a department chair, the second Reynolds presented ML materials they had developed. Near the end of the workshop staff were asked to meet by department to discuss their reactions. In the second staff development session Anderson reviewed the ML methodology. Staff then moved into department groupings to plan a ML unit. For the third session Anderson brought teachers from other schools who had success using ML to work with the staff. The aim of this session was to write an initial ML unit for each department. In December a detailed memo jointly signed by Barrett and Anderson and with the signed approval of Higgins, expressed "the hope that every teacher would use ML with one class over a period of several months so that a determination could be made as to its effectiveness and compatibility with the A+ program."

In January 1981 Barrett sent a memo to those teachers who had been trained in June 1980 asking them to explain the reasons they no longer used ML. Anderson returned to Polisher in March to meet with a dozen teachers who still had some interest in ML. About half of that group were actually implementing ML; the rest were considering writing a unit. By June 1981 interest in ML seemed completely dissipated.

We have recorded the reasons one teacher felt ML failed at Polisher. From her point of view the reasons included: the staff have been resistant to new ideas, a peer who had no official authority got heavy handed and insisted teachers use it and finally the administration came close to demanding its use. Reynolds' view is somewhat different. He believes that the A+ committee was being blamed for initiatives and demands which the principal was making, such as submitting weekly lesson plans. The role of the A+ Steering Committee and its authority became confused. Therefore, when A+ and especially Reynolds took leadership in encouraging participation in ML some faculty felt he was responsible for overloading them with still more extra work. Reynolds comments:

> The second year of A+ we began working with mastery learning and people seemed very enthused about it, but after a couple of workshops, the lesson planning was introduced. Having to submit weekly lesson plans.... was associated with Academics Plus. It didn't have anything to do with Academics Plus. People seemed to assume that the A+ Committee was responsible for lesson planning, was responsible for this, was responsible for that, so we became the bad guy. And, I of course, resented it, because this was not true, Consequently, my enthusiasm dampened and I think a lot of the effect of the program stemmed from the fact that a large number of teachers, whom others respected, were very much involved. And once we lost the enthusiasm, I think the others did as well.
>
> Well I felt that since the committee had worked so closely with Higgins and with Barrett that if there were requirements that were going to be made of teachers connected with Academics Plus, that we should have some input. Or at least before these things are introduced to the faculty at large, we should be aware of it. Because I feel very awkward when something is announced in a faculty meeting that I have no knowledge of. So I cannot thereby explain to staff members what's going on, and the rationale behind something.
>
> It seems as if the administration is just piling more and more on us for no particular reason. And one of the things that I kept saying was that those people who were going to goof off, were going to goof off no matter how many traps you set to assess how they're doing their job. They are still not going to do it wherein those who were conscientious were willing to give it an effort to deal with the load they were just overburdened, and thereby demoralized by all the things that they were expected to do.
>
> People were really trying the mastery learning, the mastery teaching and it just fizzled out, which is making the whole situation here difficult, because most of us now have

> classes where 50% of the kids are grade failures. And if you are not an enthusiastic teacher and you have a class composed largely of repeaters, it can be devastating.

Evidently Reynolds, a teacher, "was performing administrative tasks and functions without the title or authority." In the first year or two of A+ when idealism and a cooperative spirit were a cohesive force the faculty was willing to accept the legitimacy of A+ as a quasi decision making body. There was a close link between teachers and administrators. Two types of behavior changed the mandate given to A+ and its leadership. First the administrators, namely the principal, made demands that increased the work load of the faculty--weekly lesson plans. The union contract states that teachers must either provide weekly lesson plans or emergency lesson plans. This faculty had been doing the latter. Writing lesson plans on top of all the responsibilities agreed to in the A+ Handbook seemed to overburden the faculty. And the faculty at least according to Reynolds blamed him and A+ for the extra work. Secondly Reynolds and perhaps others may have overstepped their authority as teachers. In a conversation with the principal he mentioned that A+ had been problematic last year.

> Well there was some dissention. Teachers were taking pop shots at each other. I couldn't have that. So I had to take over for a while. Teachers didn't like some teachers telling them what they should do or checking up on them. Some teachers would say publicly you're not doing a good job.

The A+ program feels stalled. It is not dead. But it lacks any significant forward thrust. At the March 1982 Open Forum which was designed to help the staff get back on course, out of 27 items discussed only four related to the instructional program. Of the 23 items remaining the majority are recommendations for improving student discipline. Of the four that relate to the academic program one is the principal's reaffirmation to retain students who do not meet minimum standards; a second reaffirms the need for the staff to abide "actively" by all of the rules in the A+ Handbook. The two remaining items are similar in content. One teacher expressed the wish that the administration would "read the riot act to weak teachers"; the other was a plea to drop the term A+ from the Polisher program. This teacher feels that "Those who do adequate jobs will continue to do so, those who do mediocre jobs will continue in that fashion and those who do poor will still do poorly. Administration should deal with faculty who refuse to perform adequately and not lecture those who abide by school rules. The administration's response to these two issues was almost identical.

> "Academics Plus will continue at Polisher Junior High. We are not performing adequately when we 'cover up' for inadequate performances of others. Administration does not see everything and cannot be in all places at all times."

Earlier we mentioned that Higgins did increase the number of observations by asking the vice-principals to do so--that action was a result of the Open Forum. But the tone of the last quotation is disturbing and may give a partial explanation for some of Reynolds' behavior. Reynolds was criticized by staff for saying publicly to teachers that they "...were not doing a good job". We suspect that the principal's request that teachers not "cover up" for the weaker ones encourages role confusion. There is a necessary line between teachers and administration and that line is drawn between a teacher's option to make suggestions to colleagues and the administration's responsibility to make evaluative statements. Certainly the administration was not asking teachers to do formal evaluations. But enlisting faculty help to monitor a colleague's performance is bound to weaken trust and blur lines of authority.

Summary Observations

In the Polisher case study we see an inner city junior high school operating under a set of agreements which they believe will help students succeed in school. The A+ Handbook, couched in legalistic terms represents the faculty's thinking on how to re-socialize minority children to the school work ethic. This faculty recognized that humane and persistent attention to discipline provides a foundation so that learning can occur. Administrators, counselors, deans and teachers are committed to "staying on top of discipline". The results are evident. Polisher is a safe, orderly school. We are concerned, however, that discipline may have become a superordinate goal, instead of a subordinate one. If the faculty and administration are correct in their belief that it requires extraordinary effort "just to keep the lid on", then that may leave little time or energy for improving instruction. We wonder if this constant emphasis on discipline may not be an inadvertent expression of low expectations for student achievement. We are suggesting that Polisher may be using the wrong model for socializing its students. They may be socializing them for compliant behavior and not for significant intellectual growth.

Certainly the large number of failures would suggest a mismatch between the A+ model and the reality of the school. The reality may be that this faculty "does not know who these kids are"--the students retained. By keeping holdover students with regular students, by not providing careful diagnosis of the retained students' needs, by not using a flexible roster plan so that students can take courses they passed with their age peers, and by not creating special programs for them, it is as if these students were unknown. Further the A+ gains for those who pass are modest.

A more appropriate model might start with the fact that for the past four years 20 to 25 percent of the students fail yearly. The first question that emerges from that fact might be: What kind of instructional program will reduce that number of failures significantly? We do not want this faculty to lower its standards; we do, however, believe that both students and faculty must be accountable for academic achievement. We suspect that if the faculty learned how to reach the harder to reach students the overall quality of instruction would improve because teachers would need to develop a more critical analysis of their own teaching strategies.

Four years ago this faculty was prepared to make several changes in hopes of creating a more effective school. They created a safe environment; they emphasized school wide attention to basic skills improvement. Those changes they implemented were first level changes. But they failed to change significantly their classroom teaching. There appears to be a stand-off where teachers have agreed to make minimal changes--like grading and testing procedures, frequent homework assignments, and use of standardized texts--but they seem less willing to question or evaluate the way they teach.

Teachers seem particularly resistant to new methods of teaching which require consensus of the entire faculty. The rejection of Mastery Learning is a case in point. There appear to be multiple reasons the faculty rejected this teaching methodology. First, some faculty identified the initiation of ML with Reynolds' leadership of the A+ steering committee. Because of interpersonal disagreements with him, they rejected ML. Second, ML initially requires teachers to restructure the way they organize their teaching and how they teach. In the science department where ML methodology was congruent with what they were already doing and therefore required little additional work or adjustment in their current practice, they accepted ML. The science department tends to act in a cohesive manner. They initiate plans and accept the discipline of monitoring their own teaching to check for compliance with the plan. In contrast the reading department is less cohesive. This department also makes plans, but they resist monitoring from either their department chair or from administration. They maintain that as reading specialists they are experts in their field and therefore they can best evaluate their own progress. A few reading teachers were interested in ML and did implement it. Most reading teachers rejected it.

The differential response ML received is probably typical in secondary schools. Departmentalization by subject area makes consensus on teaching methods problematic. Although it may be possible to get consensus on the necessity for all teachers to address basic skill improvement in all subjects, it is less likely that a faculty will conform to a uniform system of instruction across disciplines.

The principal's efforts to tighten controls on the quality of instruction have also failed. The faculty will do pacing and lesson planning, but their compliance lacks enthusiasm or commitment. They see these interventions as "traps" to force them to be publically accountable. They will file the appropriate paper, but the faculty knows that its successes and failures are largely hidden behind the classroom door. They control how they teach; thus illustrating some of the negative aspects of Weik's theory of loose-coupling in organizations. Teachers and administrators are connected by paper agreements which the administration is either unwilling or unable to monitor. Similarly the coupling between principal and vice-principals seems loose. The principal says he wants vice-principals to be actively involved in the instructional program. But one vice-principal claims she gives 50% of her time to supervision while the second gives considerably less. We suspect that the loose coupling in this case may also be a device which protects administrators from accountability regarding student achievement. It is hard to believe that if both vice-principals spent 70% of their time on curricular and supervisory functions that school discipline would disintegrate. We suspect that if the quality of instruction improved for those currently failing, that change would benefit discipline as well.

The administration puts too much emphasis on paper plans and paper systems for accountability which fosters the illusion that various parties are responsible and accountable. One teacher graphically summarizes this paradox between paper intentions and classroom realities. This teacher claims the administration "...wants more effective teachers, measured growth from students, accountable teachers based on long-term planning, lesson planning, department plans, etc. What he is getting is paper work. What he isn't getting is the stuff that is supposed to be behind the paper work".

Of course that "stuff" we believe, requires an administration that is highly visible, accessible, and credible with teachers. It is a question of degree and consistency. We are not saying that the principal or vice-principals rarely tour the halls or visit classrooms. They do perform those functions. But they appear not to do enough in the area of supervising instruction. They have not made supervision a top priority. The only way an administrator can know that plans are being implemented is to visit classrooms regularly for extended periods of time.

To be an effective supervisor of instruction requires knowledge of the subject area and effective teaching practice. Are principals and vice-principals best able to supervise? This study is inconclusive on that issue. Many teachers feel department chairs at the secondary level because of their more intimate knowledge of the teaching and subject matter are in the best position to assist teachers. If this perception is accurate, the department chair role must be restructured so that chairs have the time and authority to do the job well. Other staff feel that the principal and or vice-principals could supervise staff if they made time available to do it.

It is impractical to expect secondary school principals to do all of the formal and informal observations of the faculty; a portion of that responsibility should be delegated to vice-principals. But it is essential for all administrators including the principal to be more visible in classrooms. Recall that in one interview with Higgins, he wished that he had the time to sit in classrooms listening to students' responses to instruction. We believe that that is an important, worthwhile goal. If Higgins were more visible he might understand the needs of his students more accurately; he would see first hand what kinds of strategies, lessons or materials help children learn. He could become an effective link between students and teachers. Much of what we are discussing is not formal; rather it can happen in the course of touring the building on daily rounds. But if these supportive observations are to be helpful to the improvement of instruction, the administrator must do these frequently. The effective schools literature (see Weber, 1971; Brookover and Lezotte, 1977; Edmunds, 1979; Venesky and Winfield, 1979; and Kean, Raivitz and Summers, 1979) stresses the need for principals (and we would add vice-principals) to make frequent visits to classrooms to encourage and support instruction, and to coordinate and link the classroom teacher's efforts to the larger overall mission of the school. The quality of leadership behaviors mentioned in the last sentence makes a difference to faculty. Behaviors like encourages, supports, coordinates and links are quite different from demands and orders. Leaders do need to give orders. But orders must be given sparingly or they will be ignored. Teachers consider themselves professionals and as such they tend not to respond to bureaucratic demands--especially in areas in which they consider themselves expert.

Two other lessons derived from the Polisher case study concern the way in which change is implemented. The A+ promotion standards were enacted in opposition to the accepted practice of the larger system. The effect of the system wide standards are cumulative from one level of school organization to the next. When the middle level does not accept the same standards as the first and third levels it creates an untenable problem for the exception. Polisher may be right in demanding higher standards for promotion. But that battle must be fought at the district and central offices not at the individual school. Polisher's promotion standards might succeed if those standards were common practice at the elementary school level. This case study illustrates a limitation of the principal's use of discretionary power when applied in opposition to a system wide policy. A principal and faculty can elect to implement rigorous promotional standards, but then that school will also inherit the problems of the larger system which did not follow suit. If Polisher persists in its isolated stand on promotional policy it will also need to be accountable for student achievement; it can not blame the system or the student.

The second lesson related to implementing change comes from the Polisher faculty's response to enforced lesson planning. Recall that the faculty was quite willing to conform to all of the rules and regulations of the A+ Handbook, but they balked at the imposition of required weekly lesson plans. We do not wish to argue for or against weekly lesson plans. But we do want to suggest that the imposition of that order was ill timed. Some faculty resistance to the order was based on grounds that the principal was needlessly overloading them with paper work. There probably is a limit to the number of changes an organization is willing to incorporate before it starts rejecting suggestions and demands willy-nilly.

Finally Polisher has made progress in some aspects of its school program. In order for the school to approach the next level of effectiveness both administration and teachers need to evalaute some of their basic attitudes and practices. The principal will need to re-examine his style of leadership. At present his style feels bureaucratic on the issuance of orders and directives and loose or lassez-faire in monitoring implementation. If the principal decides to tighten control by doing more supervision and in general becomes more visible at the classroom level we suggest that he consider a more collaborative style of interaction. The faculty, on the other hand, needs to become more open to different methods and theories of educating children and then make a commitment to integrate those changes in their classroom teaching.

SUMMARY

In this section we would like to summarize what seem to be the important findings of this study. In the next section we will analyze those findings and discuss their implications for instructional leadership.

At the outset we would like to stress that these four schools are not very effective schools, if we use the criteria and standard usually applied in contemporary studies. In fact, one of the schools--from our point of view--seems to be rather ineffective. So this in a sense was not a study of what works in effective schools. It was instead a tentative probe of this question: in urban junior high schools that are making some modest gains against great odds, what seems to be making the difference in pupil learning--and which people are making that difference?

Let's summarize our findings about the first. What seems to be making a difference--and what other actions and activities seem not to be making a difference?

The first thing that seems to be making a difference is the existence of clearly stated goals--and explicit policies relating to those goals. In three of the schools at least, the principal had focused the faculty's and students' attention on important instructional goals: improve reading and mathematics achievement. And in two of those schools the principal had rather directly established policies about homework, grades, and promotion that supported those goals. We might quarrel with the narrowness of those goals, and we might object to the lack of extensive and intensive faculty involvement in the development of both goals and policies. But they seem to be necessary--and their existence seemed important to the relative success of the school in making a difference.

The second thing we note is that in almost every case the principal was consciously or unconsciously using slogans that he or she adopted as a rallying cry around those goals. The slogans were of several sorts: academics plus, mastery learning, our school family, the spirit of our school. In one school the "academics plus" slogan seemed to be taken seriously by the faculty because it was supported by explicit policies that were reviewed and enforced. In other schools it seemed empty and meaningless to the faculty. The results were only slightly better for "mastery learning." Individual teachers did use mastery learning techniques in three of the schools, but the number involved remained small. Despite the efforts of one of the principals to make it a cornerstone of his program, this approach to teaching and learning never made a significant impact in any of the schools. The slogans that spoke more of interpersonal relationships ("our family," "our spirit") were similarly mixed in their success. In one of the schools the teachers seemed to take seriously the belief that they were part of a family, even as they cynically mocked the idea. In the other school where there was much talk about spirit, the teachers spoke instead of disenchantment and discouragement. Slogans about the climate, it seems, are never fully believed--and are only partially accepted when the perceived reality matches the slogan.

The third factor that seems to make a major difference is the learning climate. We use this term to include both the appearance of the physical plant and the sense of order and discipline that pervades both non-instructional and instructional areas. The schools in this study were in a physical condition that we want to describe as appalling: roofs leaked; windows were broken; locker doors were damaged. But in three of the schools, the principal seemed to have been able to mobilize the energies of custodians and teachers to make the place at least look clean. And in three of the schools there was a sense of general order and good discipline. Although there were serious infractions almost every day, there was a clear sense in three of these schools that the administration and the faculty were on top of those problems.

We should note here, of course, that in two of the schools, this satisfactory learning climate had been produced essentially by the principals who had preceded the incumbents. The incumbent principals whom we studied in these two schools were fortunate enough to have inherited a situation where a satisfactory learning climate had been established-and where teachers wanted it continued.

The fourth factor is that in all the schools at least someone was giving attention to the curriculum--the courses that were offered and the content of those courses. We never saw what we would consider a systematic and insightful evaluation and development of curriculum;

but we did see people tinkering with it. In one of the schools the principal initiated a curriculum project that was quietly aborted and ignored. In a second school the principal as part of a doctoral project had taken a fresh look at the curricular needs of potential drop-outs--but his efforts did not seem to have made a lasting impact. In a third school one of the department heads had focused her faculty's energies and attention on areas of the curriculum that were measured by achievement tests. And in that same school the incumbent principal had mandated new course requirements. And in the fourth school the principal had directed the faculty to give greater attention to what he considered the essentials.

This curriculum work seems to have been effective when it was led by someone close to and respected by the teachers--and when its implementation was closely monitored. When it was imposed by the principal--who often did not systematically analyze the likely effects of the mandates--and when it was not followed up with close monitoring, the curriculum work seems not to have made any lasting impact.

In one of the schools staff development seemed to have made a difference. Again, it was staff development initiated and conducted by an energetic department head whom the teachers respected. She did not attempt to change the way the teachers taught; she seemed to accept their basic instructional approach and helped them use it more effectively. Her message to the teachers was simple--but effective: teach what the test covers; teach it over a long period of time; and teach it very directly. The rest of the staff development that took place in these schools seems from our perspective to have been almost a total waste of time and effort. All the workshops on mastery learning, even when they were conducted by experts and had the support of the principal, seem not to have made a pervasive difference. Our hunch is that mastery learning in its pure form makes too many demands on junior high teachers who are primarily concerned with keeping order and making it through the day: it asks them to develop units; make entry assessments; clarify objectives; teach to those objectives; give mastery tests; and provide correctives. In addition to changes in the organization of teaching strategies, mastery learning also demands a change in teacher attitude. Central to mastery learning is the belief that virtually all children can learn. In the junior high schools we studied this idea had not gained school-wide acceptance.

What was obviously not making much difference at all was teacher supervision. In only one of the schools was the vice principal perceived as an effective supervisor. By the reports of the teachers who had been supervised she wasn't using supervisory processes that the experts would have supported: she didn't hold many planning conference, and she wasn't indirect in her style. But she got around. She visited classes, and she very directly told teachers what they were doing right--and what they were doing wrong. All the rest of what passed for supervision in these schools was only a series of brief and unsystematic observations, with a written summary of the highlights. We do not intend here to be too critical of these principals for whom we have a continuing respect. They were busy people, trying their best to hold together large schools in a time of crisis. They were doing some things very well--but they were not supervising very effectively.

Who was providing these functions that seemed to make a difference? One important part of our answer here is to observe that the information suggests a picture that changes over time. We took a series of snapshots during one school year. But our interviews with the principals and the teachers gave us a perspective about what had happened in the past. In general the data seem to suggest that when a new principal arrives on the scene, he or she takes a very active role in initiating projects, making changes, and developing new programmatic thrusts. Then as the years go by, the principal's attention moves out beyond the school, as he aspires to new spheres of influence. He delegates more at the school and takes a less active role in instructional leadership. And interestingly enough, we have here four very different career patterns that seemed to affect what was happening when we took our snapshots: one principal had been at the school a long time and seems to have given up hopes of promotion; one had been a principal for almost as long--but was prepared to move to a high school principalship; one had just arrived on the scene and was busy carving out her territory and putting her own stamp on the school; and one had just a few years before assumed principalship of a faculty very divided about the issue of who should be their new principal.

The second part of our answer about who provides instructional leadership in the junior high school is, "It all depends." We began by looking very closely at the principal. But our early findings suggested to us that we needed to look more broadly and more inclusively. Our study now seems to give tentative support to other research which suggests that in the secondary school, instructional leadership is more diffuse and complex than it is in the elementary schools. (For a very current review of this issue, see Carnine, Gersten, and Green, 1982; and Firestone and Herriott, 1982.) In two of the junior high schools, the reading chairperson seemed to be playing an influential role. In one, the English department chair was perceived as the key instructional leader. In a third, a vice principal had been a driving influence until she became ill. In fact, we were surprised to discover that in none of the schools was the principal perceived to be providing instructional leadership.

What are they doing, if they are not providing instructional leadership? For the most part, they are giving their attention to pupil discipline. Some are doing it more effectively than others. But one thing we think we have learned from this study is that the principals of urban junior high schools are centrally concerned with pupil discipline. They worry about it, they spend much time talking about it to faculty, and they devote much time to trying to enforce good discipline. While it is obvious that discipline is essential, it seems clear to us that it is pushing aside other important concerns.

DISCUSSION

Two questions organize the discussion section of this report: What do we mean by instructional leadership? How can instructional leadership be improved?

Our definition of instructional leadership includes these functions:

- selecting, supervising and evaluating faculty
- setting high instructional goals and academic standards
- communicating the belief that all children can learn
- selecting and refining instructional materials and strategies
- coordinating instructional policy within and across subject area, departments and grade levels
- monitoring student progress
- establishing a clean, safe, pleasant environment conducive to teaching and learning

We found that instructional leadership functions are not exercised consistently by any of the administrators we studied. Certain functions mandated by the school code, like evaluating teacher performance, are performed by the principal. Principals do, within system limits, select teachers. Many of them set goals. But if we examine how principals and vice principals use their time we find them mainly performing management functions. They keep the school running by maintaining the building, patrolling the halls, securing substitute teachers, and most importantly, handling discipline. Days are filled with useful management tasks but these may not necessarily produce an improved instructional program at the end of the school year. For most principals and vice principals, instructional leadership is not a priority.

Helping administrators become instructional leaders is a difficult task. After a decade of exhortation that principals should be instructional leaders, at least at the junior high school level, that advice has not been heeded. It will take more than advice or pressure to make the change. One way to work toward that change is to distinguish between two levels of instructional leadership--general and specific. It is well established that secondary school teachers do not look to administrators for expertise in solving classroom problems. Teachers perceive administrators as too removed from the daily teaching interactions to offer credible help (Gorton, 1971). However administrators can be effective in providing a generalist's level of expertise. As generalists they provide vision, direction and coordination. They link the parts of the program into a coherent whole; they monitor school-wide achievement; they suggest changes in program when necessary. These generalist functions are complex, requiring professional expertise in academic planning, program articulation and evaluation. How can we assist administrators so that they will feel confident as instructional leaders? To become instructional leaders they will need in-depth retraining through in-service education. We doubt that a scattershot approach which offers short courses in "time management" or "curriculum planning" will make a difference. Rather we think re-training must be linked to the context of the administrator's school and system. Support for these changes in behavior must be long-term over several years.

Secondary schools seem to need leaders with special expertise in various subjects, in addition to an administrator who can provide some central direction. It therefore would seem wise for secondary school administrators to systematically analyze the talents and interests of their support staff, including assistant principals, team leaders, and department chairs. Those support staff with the necessary competence should be assigned leadership functions. Departmental leaders may require essential training for instructional leadership at a department level. Obviously if these leaders are to be instructional leaders they must be given the necessary time to do the job well.

Restructuring the principal's, the vice principal's, and department chair's roles so that they have the expertise and time to perform instructional leadership tasks effectively should improve the quality of a school's academic program. But if those changes are not rooted in a profound vision that most children can learn, we think the improvement will be slight. We differentiate between an educational slogan and a vision. Slogans as we mentioned in our summary abound in schools. Often they are superficial cliches which rarely have the capacity to transform the direction of the school, or the level of commitment of the staff. They do not change school priorities. An educational vision should have the power to convince a staff that it is possible for students to learn, master, and excel. While this vision is encouraging, it is also disturbing because it will link student failure with the degree of effectiveness of the educational program, the teaching staff, and the administrators.

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Appendices

A. - Leadership Interview Protocol

B. - Survey Instruments
    Additional Information Survey
    Sources of Instructional Leadership (SOIL)
    Instrument Development (SOIL)

Appendix A

LEADERSHIP INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (Revised)

1. How long have you been principal of this school?

2. In your experience was there one or two principals who were outstanding role models? Do you recall particular things they said or did?

3. I'd like to shift to some questions that focus on your school and community.

   How would you describe the people who live in your school community? What do they do for a living? SES? What's inportant to them? What do they want for their children? What do they expect of this school? What do they expect of you?

4. Sketch out how you spend a typical day at work.

5. Do you have a way of keeping track of your time?

6. There is a lot of discussion in educational literature re two basic functions principals perform; one is the role of manager, the other is the instructional leader.

   In your experience at your school, what tasks fall under the rubric of principal as manager?

   In your experience at your school, what tasks fall under the rubric of principal as instructional leader?

7. Do you have a statement of instructional goals for your school? How were those goals chosen?

8. How do you know teachers are working on those goals?

9. How do goal statements affect the school roster; allocation of teachers; the use of time?

10. How are decisions in regard to instruction made in your school? Are there certain decisions only the principal may make? Are there others that are delegated to teachers? Still others shared? Describe.

11. Think back to when you were a teacher. What subject(s) did you teach? Do you see yourself as an expert or resource in a particular subject area? How do you use your specialized instructional talents in this school?

12. Do you occasionally teach a class?

13. How often do you visit classrooms? For what purpose? What do you

look for during a classroom observation? Do you share your observations with the teacher? How?

14. There are many formal and informal channels a principal can use for influencing classroom instruction. What formal channels do you use? What are the informal channels?

15. How is instruction organized in the classroom? (Open classroom; individualized; group-based)

16. Do you prefer homogenous or heterogeneous grouping? Explain your preference.

17. Do teachers collaborate in designing instructional strategies?

18. Are there any standing curricular committees? What are their responsibilities? Who coordinates or facilitates the work of these committees?

19. As you think back over your career as a principal in this school, can you recall organizational structures or administrative procedures you initiated that helped improve the quality of the curriculum in classrooms?

20. What role does your community play in improving achievement in this school? Should community have a voice in what is taught in this school and how it is taught?

21. Some people feel that a school should be run like an efficient business or industry with clear chain of command procedures emanating from the head down. In that model of school organization the principal runs a tight ship and he or she makes most of the basic decisions. An alternate model suggests that schools are loosely organized and therefore require a more collegial, democratic style of organization. The later model emphasizes collaboration among faculty and administration in decision making.

    Which do you favor?
    1. tight organization with principal in command?
    2. loose organization involving teachers appropriately in decision making?

22. Do you have an organized system for monitoring teacher effectiveness? Please explain.

23. How do you reward or recognize teacher effectiveness?

24. How do you organize staff development activities to support your instructional goals for students?

25. Do you encourage classroom visitation between teachers? How?

26. What circumstances or situations occur in this school which are likely to create an adversary relationship between teacher and principal? Given those situations, is conflict inevitable? How do these conflicts influence the attainment of the school's priorities?

27. In the late 60's and 70's a number of researchers felt that students from low SES families could not achieve because they had too many cognitive and social deficits. School simply was too weak an intervention to overcome the liabilities poor children brought with them. What is your opinion? How does your instructional program speak to this issue?

28. Describe the circumstances in which you would favor retaining students in the same grade or subject until they achieved mastery?

29. Do you have a formal system for evaluating student progress? How are results communicated to students; their parents?

30. What methods other than standardized tests do you use to assess student progress?

31. If I could grant you five changes each designed to improve the quality of instruction in your school, what changes would you want?

Appendix B

Additional Information Survey

Please answer the following six questions by circling the most appropriate answer.

1. On a typical day, how often, in your opinion, would the principal monitor pupil behavior in the corridors and cafeteria?

   a. 4 or more times   b. 2-3 times   c. once   d. not at all

   e. uncertain

2. Last year how many times did the principal visit your class to observe your teaching?

   a. 3 or more times   b. twice   c. once   d. not at all

3. Last year how many times did the vice principal visit your class to observe your teaching?

   a. 3 or more times   b. twice   c. once   d. not at all

4. Last year how many times did the principal ask you to submit your lesson plans for review?

   a. 10 or more times   b. 6-9 times   c. 2-5 times   d. once

   e. not at all

5. Which statement below best describes your present feelings about your school's instructional leadership?

   a. We're making real gains

   b. We're making some progress

   c. I just don't know

   d. We're slipping a little

   e. We're really losing ground

6. Listed below are five areas of responsibility typically associated with the principalship. Based on your perception of how your principal performs, rank these five areas. Assign a 1 to the area you perceive as having the highest priority and a five to the area having the lowest priority by writing the appropriate number in front of each area.

(list on next page)

(1= highest priority; 5= lowest priority)

_____ Business Management (buildings, budget)

_____ School--Community Relations

_____ School--District/Central Office Relations

_____ Instructional Leadership (curriculum, improvement of instruction, teacher evaluation)

_____ Student Relations (assists with special problems, discipline, communication with students)

7. What additional comments can you make that will further describe how instructional leadership tasks are performed in this school?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

SOURCES OF INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP

Prepared by:
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(Draft version - Do not reproduce without permission)

Please answer the following questions (all answers are confidential):

1. The name of your school: ________________________________

2. Your present role (circle one): Principal Vice Principal
   Department Head Specialist (reading or math) Teacher
   Counselor Other (identify): ________________________

3. Your sex (circle): Male Female

4. Your age: ______

5. The number of years you have been an educational professional:
   ____

6. The number of years you have been in your present school: _____

7. The number of years you have been in your present role: _____

Directions: Listed on the left of pages 2 and 3 are the tasks and functions usually associated with instructional leadership. On the right are listed the roles of the individuals who often perform those tasks and functions. For each role listed, indicate to what extent that person in your school performs that task or function, at the present time, by writing one of the letters defined below in the appropriate box.

L - provides leadership in this task or function

C - contributes to the task or function but does not provide leadership

If the person does not currently perform that task or function, leave the box blank. If no one in your school currently performs that task or function, leave all the boxes in that line blank.

The following terms are used to identify instructional or administrative personnel:

Principal - the principal or head of the school

Vice Principal - an assistant administrator

Department Head - the head of a group of teachers in a single subject area or discipline

Specialist - a school-based reading or math specialist

Teacher - a classroom instructor

Consider what the person in each role actually does as you think about each task or function.

Record L provides leadership
C contributes but does not provide leadership
☐ leave box blank if L or C is not appropriate

INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP TASK OR FUNCTION	PRINCIPAL	VICE PRINCIPAL	DEPARTMENT HEAD	SPECIALIST	TEACHER
1. Articulates the instructional goals of the school.					
2. Helps teachers to relate the school's instructional goals to their curriculum units.					
3. Clarifies the instructional responsibilities of each professional role.					
4. Selects instructional personnel.					
5. Evaluates teachers.					
6. Develops the school's master schedule.					
7. Assigns teachers to specific classes or sections.					
8. Allocates materials needed to accomplish instructional goals.					
9. Helps teachers to evaluate instructional materials.					
10. Helps teachers to develop appropriate instructional materials that are not commercially available.					

Record $\boxed{L}$ provides leadership

$\boxed{C}$ contributes but does not provide leadership

☐ leave box blank if L or C is not appropriate

INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP TASK OR FUNCTION	PRINCIPAL	VICE PRINCIPAL	DEPARTMENT HEAD	SPECIALIST	TEACHER
11. Sees to it that the necessary support personnel (aides, secretaries, etc.) are made available to assist teachers in accomplishing instructional goals.					
12. Communicates to parents the importance of basic skills instruction in the school.					
13. Organizes staff development programs that relate to instruction.					
14. Analyzes standardized achievement test scores to identify general institutional strengths and weaknesses.					
15. Schedules assemblies that have an instructional purpose.					
16. Secures additional funds for instructional purposes.					
17. Observes teachers in their classrooms.					
18. Encourages teachers to observe each other's classes.					
19. Communicates to all students the school's general concern for achievement.					
20. Organizes teachers to work together on instructional matters.					
21. Provides help to teachers who want to improve their teaching.					
22. Approves new programs that have an institutional emphasis.					
23. Takes steps to improve student discipline.					
24. Takes steps to develop a school climate conducive to learning.					
25. Coordinates instruction between teachers at different grade levels.					
26. Establishes a school policy on student promotion.					

Record L provides leadership

C contributes but does not provide leadership

☐ leave box blank if L or C is not appropriate

INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP TASK OR FUNCTION	PRINCIPAL	VICE PRINCIPAL	DEPARTMENT HEAD	SPECIALIST	TEACHER
27. Helps individual departments to coordinate their curricula.					
28. Gives teachers non-evaluative feedback about their teaching.					
29. Suggests alternative instructional methods for children who are failing consistently.					
30. Gives teachers feedback on their weekly lesson plans.					
31. Works with teachers to improve the instructional program of the school.					

Instrumental Development: Sources of Instructional Leadership

The instrument, Sources of Instructional Leadership (SOIL), was developed to describe the instructional leadership in schools. The original draft by Norman A. Newberg and Allan A. Glatthorn was based on a review of the literature on instructional leadership from the last ten years. The original draft was modified by Newberg and Philip D. Selim to create a preliminary draft. This draft, containing a demographic data section, directions, and thirty-one instructional leadership task items, was then shared with some practicing educators for their reactions. Following some minor changes, to improve clarity and the addition of a Response Form, SOIL was administered individually to twelve subjects. These subjects from a suburban middle school included three administrators, one of whom was a principal, one counselor, and eight teachers from six different academic disciplines. The subjects ranged in age from their early thirties to their late fifties and had teaching experience from a few years to over twenty years. Minor modifications were made following this administration to create the draft used in the pilot study.

In early March, 1982, SOIL was administered by the same researcher to the professional staffs in a suburban elementary school, middle school, and junior-senior high school (129 subjects). The results of the pilot were used to access each role scale of thirty-one items for internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's Alpha). Reliabilities were found to range from 0.90 for the teacher scale to 0.96

for the department head and vice principal scales. The principal and specialist scales were 0.93 and 0.94, respectively. A factor analysis of each role scale was also performed to identify items that repeatedly clustered on each role scale. No items were found to consistently cluster on each role scale. This was consistent with the researcher's belief that each school would have a unique instructional leadership pattern; and therefore, the same items would not factor out or cluster together on each role scale.

Based on the experience in the pilot, instructions for the administration of SOIL were written and used to administer the instrument to the professional staffs in four urban junior high schools, two urban elementary schools, and one suburban elementary school (307 subjects). These seven administrations were done by three researchers beginning in mid-April, and ending in mid-May, 1982. The data from these schools was combined with the pilot data and analyzed using discriminant analysis. Discriminant analysis was used because the researchers believe each school has a unique pattern of instructional leadership for the five roles across the thirty-one tasks and therefore, it would be possible to classify subjects based on their responses into their school a high percentage of the time. For all ten schools, the percent of correct classification was very high, 94.02%. However, elementary schools tended not to have vice principals and department heads. This was thought to be a possible explanation for the very high percent of correct classification on the initial analysis; therefore, the schools were separated into elementary and secondary groups and the data re-analyzed. In the re-analysis the percent of correct classification increased to 100% for elementary and 94.95% for secondary. This would suggest that the instructional leadership patterns in elementary and secondary schools are different in some important way. Clearly these analyses indicate that the role scales are reliable and that SOIL is able to distinguish between the instructional leadership patterns of different schools.

In order to identify subscales within each role scale, a factor analysis was performed on each role scale for the secondary school data. This resulted in the thirty-one items clustering into five or six unique groups within each role scale. For each one of these twenty-eight factors, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed. This procedure identifies statistically significant differences among the mean scores of the six secondary schools on each factor. This information is recorded on the factor summary sheet.

The analysis of the data would suggest that SOIL maybe useful for describing the perceived instructional leadership network in many urban and suburban schools. The ten year literature review, on which the instrument's content is based provides substantial support for SOIL's content validity. The instrument's reliability was substantiated in the pilot. The discriminant analysis indicated SOIL was able to differentiate among the instructional leadership networks in the ten selected schools. While the construct validity of SOIL was not directly assessed, the data is consistent with the general impressions of the researchers about the schools. Thus, while further research is important, particularly in the area of construct validity, Sources of Instructional Leadership would appear to be a useful instrument for describing a school's instructional leadership network.